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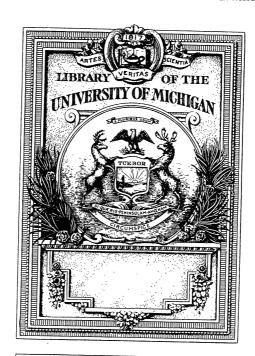
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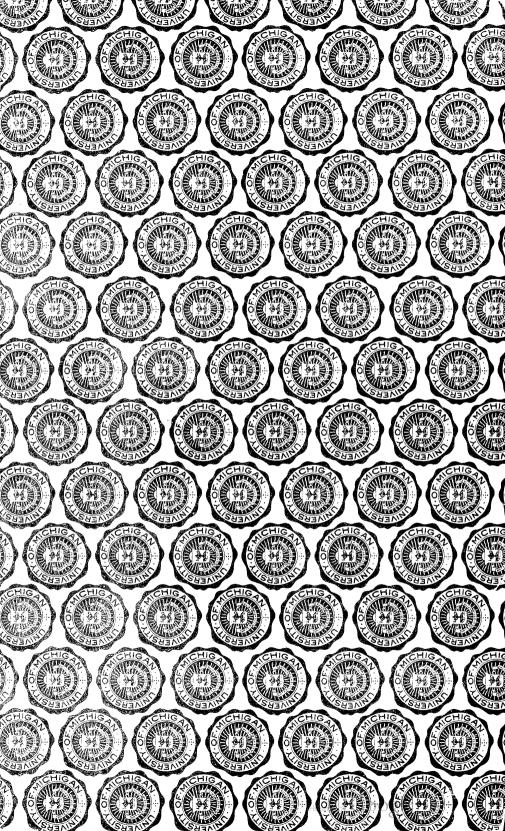
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A Journal Devoted to Scholarly Investigation in the Classical and Modern Languages and Literatures

VOLUME VII

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CHARLES BUNDY WILSON, Germanic Languages and Literatures ROY C. FLICKINGER, Classical Languages and Literatures BALDWIN MAXWELL, English and Comparative Literature RALPH EMERSON HOUSE, Romance Languages and Literatures

CONTENTS

The First Edition of De la Mothe's French Alphabeth and of Hollybrand's French	
Schoolemaister James F. Royster	1
Latin Manuscripts in American Libraries B. L. Ullman	6
Juvenal in England, 1750-1802 Robert Calvin Whitford	9
Jeremy Collier and Francis Bacon Edmund L. Freeman	17
Shakespeare's Allusions to the	
Older Drama Katherine Haynes Gatch	27
Ovid's Carmina Furtiva Robert S. Radford	45
Wordsworth and Thomas Taylor Frederick E. Pierce	60
Castiglione's Influence on Spenser's	
Early Hymns Rennselaer W. Lee	65
Brief Articles and Notes	
Two Notes on the Gothic Text - Albert Morey Sturtevant	7 8
Iewes Werk H. S. Ficke	82
An Unpublished Letter of	
Dorothea Schlegel Edwin H. Zeydel	86
Attempts to Interest Germany in	00
Early American Literature Roy A. Tower	89
Caesar Did Never Wrong but with Just Cause Mary Proestler	92
	34
Book Reviews HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragi- comédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). HEINRICHE RABE, Deutsch-englishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff).	

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

The First Edition of De la Mothe's French Alphabeth	
and of Hollybrand's French	
Schoolemaister James F. Royster	1
Latin Manuscripts in American Libraries B. L. Ullman	6
Juvenal in England, 1750-1802 Robert Calvin Whitford	9
Jeremy Collier and Francis Bacon - Edmund L. Freeman	17
Shakespeare's Allusions to the Older	
Drama Katherine Haynes Gatch	27
Ovid's Carmina Furtiva Robert S. Radford	$\frac{-1}{45}$
Wordsworth and Thomas Taylor Frederick E. Pierce	60
Castiglione's Influence on Spenser's Early	00
Hymns Rennselaer W. Lee	65
	78
Two Notes on the Gothic Text Albert Morey Sturtevant	82
Iewes Work H. S. Ficke	
An Unpublished Letter of Dorothy Schlegel - Edwin H. Zeydel	86
Attempts to Interest Germany in Early	00
American Literature Roy A. Tower	89
Caesar Did Never Wrong but with Just	
Cause Mary Proestler	92
On the Originality of Terence Roy C. Flickinger	97
Aldhelm's "Rude Infancy" Albert S. Cook	115
Caramuel de Lobkowitz and his Commentary	
(1668) on Lope de Vega's	
Arte Nuevo de Hacer Comedias Joseph E. Gillet	120
An Examination of the Chronology of Coleridge's	
Lecture Notes Dorothy I. Morrill	138
In Praise of Homer A. Shewan	151
English Literature, 1660-1800: A Current	
Bibliography Ronald S. Crane	1 55
Notes for Prometheus Unbound C. A. Brown	195
Green Shoestrings M. Channing Linthicum	
The Use of the Weak Inflection of the Gothic	
Adjective in a Vocative Function - Albert M. Sturtevant	199
A Note on Lyly's Euphues Allen R. Benham	
Longinus on the Sublime. Some Historical and	201
Literary Problems W. Rhys Roberts	200
•	203
The Influence of Trissino on the	990
Faerie Queene C. W. Lemmi	
Notes on the Puppet Play of Doctor Faust - John A. Walz	
Southey's Eclogues E. C. Knowlton	231
Foreign Languages in the Romans	
d'Aventure Milton H. Stansbury	
Reconstruction of a Lost Play Henry David Gray	254
Selbsterlebtes in Eichendorffs Aus Dem Leben	
Eines Taugenichts E. P. Appelt	275
Eines Taugenichts E. P. Appelt Verse-Sentence Patterns in English	
Poetry Charles A. Langworthy	
Contemporary Politics in Elizabethan Drama red by Google	
Till Committee E. P. Kuhl	299

The Sources of B. Pérez Galdós, Doña Perfecta,	
Cap. VI Alexander Haggerty Krappe	303
A Jonson Allusion, and Others Bernard M. Wagner	
Notes on Balzac's Maître Cornélius G. D. Morris	
Lyttelton Franklin P. Johnson	
A Possible Source of Browning's Saul - George S. Wykoff	
Query on Chaucer's Burgesses Carroll Camden, Jr.	314
A Contribution to the Theory of the English	
Renaissance $Hardin\ Craig$ Goethe, Heine and Emilio Castelar $Franz\ Schneider$	321
Goethe, Heine and Emilio Castelar Franz Schneider	334
Did Byron Write the Poem To Ladu	
Caroline Lamb? Andrew J. Green	338
Carlyle's Interpretation of Kant - Charles Frederick Harrold	345
Textual and Other Notes on	
The Winter's Tale Samuel A. Tannenbaum	258
Note that the state Sumuet A. Tunnenouum	990
Notes on Smollett Allan D. McKillop	368
Legal Precedent in Athenian Courts Alfred P. Dorjahn	375
The Merry Wives of Windsor: Two New	
Analogues Robert S. Forsythe	390
Actors' Names in the Contention and	
2 Henry VI Madeleine Doran	399
A Note on the Word "Medium" Hermann S. Ficke	400
First Lay Chancellor of England Allen R. Benham	
A Note on García Gutiérrez and Ossian N. B. Adams	402
DOOK DEVIEWS	
BOOK REVIEWS	
HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de	
HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de	
HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	93
HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	93
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	93
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	93
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	93
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	93
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	93
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	93
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff) G. C. Van Langenhove, On the Origin of the Gerund in English (Morgan Calloway, Jr.). R. J. Hayes, Comparative Idiom: An Introduction to the Study of Modern Languages (Oscar E. Johnson). Ruth A. Hesselgrave, Lady Miller and the Batheaston Literary Circle (Robert C. Whitford). Alexander Bell, Le Lai d'Haveloc and Gaimar's Haveloc Episode (A. J. Dickman). J. M. Murry, Keats and Shakespeare, and C. D. Thorpe, The Mind of John Keats (Bartholow V. Crawford). Barry Cerf, Anatole France, The Degeneration of a Great Artist (Charles E. Young) HAZELTON SPENCER, Shakespeare Improved (Bartholow V. Crawford).	
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	203
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	203
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	203
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	203
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	203
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	203
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	203
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	203
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	203
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	203
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff)	203
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff) G. C. van Langenhove, On the Origin of the Gerund in English (Morgan Calloway, Jr.). R. J. Hayes, Comparative Idiom: An Introduction to the Study of Modern Languages (Oscar E. Johnson). Ruth A. Hesselgrave, Lady Miller and the Batheaston Literary Circle (Robert C. Whitford). Alexander Bell, Le Lai d'Haveloc and Gaimar's Haveloc Episode (A. J. Dickman). J. M. Murry, Keats and Shakespeare, and C. D. Thorpe, The Mind of John Keats (Bartholow V. Crawford). Barry Cerf, Anatole France, The Degeneration of a Great Artist (Charles E. Young) HAZELTON SPENCER, Shakespeare Improved (Bartholow V. Crawford). John Bulkeley and John Cummins, A Voyage to the South Seas in His Majesty's Ship the Wager in the Years 1740-1741 (Willard H. Bonner) HENRY George Liddell and Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (R. C. F.). L. C. Martin, The Poems, English, Latin, and Greek, of Richard Crashaw (Austin Warren). P. O. Bodding, Santal Folk Tales, and Aschehong & Co., Festskrift til Hjalmar Falk (Henning Larsen). Solomon Liptzin, Lyric Pioneers in Modern Germany. Studies in German Social Poetry (Ernst Rose). Stephen Gaselee, An Anthology of Medieval Latin Verse, Karl Pomeroy Harrington, Medieval Latin, and Charles H. Beeson, A Primer of Medieval Latin (Franklin H. Potter). Joseph Calmette, Philippe de Commynes: Mémoires (Walther I. Brandt). Harris Francis Fletcher, Milton's Semitic Studies and some manifestations of them in his poetry (Hermann S. Ficke). E. K. Chambers, Arthur of Britain (Nellie Slayton Aurner). Frances Theresa Russell, One Word More on Browning (H. C.). Hugh A. Smith, Main Currents of Modern French Drama (Charles E. Young). E. H. C. Oliphant, The Pläys of Bedwmont	203
Henry Carrington Lancaster, Chryséide et Arimand, Tragicomédie de Jean Mairet (A. J. Dickman). Heinriche Rabe, Deutschenglishes Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache (C. H. Ibershoff) G. C. Van Langenhove, On the Origin of the Gerund in English (Morgan Calloway, Jr.). R. J. Hayes, Comparative Idiom: An Introduction to the Study of Modern Languages (Oscar E. Johnson). Ruth A. Hesselgrave, Lady Miller and the Batheaston Literary Circle (Robert C. Whitford). Alexander Bell, Le Lai d'Haveloe and Gaimar's Haveloe Episode (A. J. Dickman). J. M. Murry, Keats and Shakespeare, and C. D. Thorpe, The Mind of John Keats (Bartholow V. Crawford). Barry Cerf, Anatole France, The Degeneration of a Great Artist (Charles E. Young) —— HAZELTON SPENCER, Shakespeare Improved (Bartholow V. Crawford). John Bulkeley and John Cummins, A Voyage to the South Seas in His Majesty's Ship the Wager in the Years 1740-1741 (Willard H. Bonner) ————————————————————————————————————	203

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THE FIRST EDITION OF DE LA MOTHE'S FRENCH ALPHABETH AND OF HOLLYBRAND'S FRENCH SCHOOLEMAISTER

By James F. Royster University of North Carolina

From George De la Mothe's very practical little French grammar and conversation manual, the French Alphabeth, "more than from any other of these early [grammatical] works we can form a fairly adequate idea of the method of teaching French prevalent" in Elizabethan England. This is the opinion of Miss Kathleen Lambley, who several years ago published an interesting and thoroughgoing study of the teaching of French in England during Tudor and Stuart times. De la Mothe's book was licensed to Richard Field on the twenty-first of June, 1592, under the following entry in the Register of the Company of Stationers:

Richard ffield—Entered for his Copie under the hande of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and Maister Coldock Master. A booke entitled the French Alphabet together with the treasure of the French tonge.²

It is a bibliographical tradition that no copy of a 1592 edition of the French Alphabeth is in existence. An edition printed by Edward Alde in 1595 is the earliest print, it is generally stated, of which we have a copy. Miss Lambley accepts it for a fact that "no copy of this earliest edition has been preserved." Stengel makes no reference to it in his Chronologisches Verzeichnis französischer Grammatiken. Miss L. E. Farrer has gone so far as to

¹ The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England During Tudor and Stuart Times, University of Manchester Press, 1920. The quotation above is from page 166.

² Ed. Arber, II, 614.

³ Other editions appeared in 1603, 1615, 1625, 1633, 1639, and 1647.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 162; cf. p. 417.

⁵ Oppeln, 1890, p. 28.

⁶ Un Devancier de Cotgrave; la Vie et les Oeuvres de Claude de Sainliens, Paris, 1908; quoetd by Miss Lambley, op. cit., p. 162, note 3.

take the entry in the Register of the Company of Stationers quoted above as a permission to print another edition of Claudius Hollyband's Treasurie, which she assumes was prevented and superceded by the publication of his dictionary in the same year. The recently issued monumental Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland . . . 1475-1640 encourages the legend by failing to record the existence of a copy of the 1592 edition. To its notice of the 1595 edition is added: "Ent. to R. Field, 21 jn. 1592." It is not clear whether this is intended to ignore the question of an earlier edition or to imply that the printing licensed in 1592 was delayed until 1595.

As a matter of fact, a copy of the 1592 edition of the *French Alphabeth* is in the possession of the Library of Congress.⁹ The title-page of this copy reads as follows:

THE FRENCH/ ALPHABETH, TEACHING/ IN A VERY SHORT TYME, by/ a most easie way, to pronounce French natu-/ rally, to reade it perfectly, to write it/ truely, and to speak it accordingly./ Together with/ THE TREASVRE OF TH[E]10 Frenchtoung, conteyning the rarest Sentenc[es.]10 Pouerbes, Parables, Similies, Apethgm[es,]10 and Golden sayings, of the most excellent/ French Authours, as vvell/ Potes as Orators./ The one diligently compiled, and the other pai[n-]10/ fully gathered and set in order, after the Alp[ha-]10/ beticall maner, for the benefite of those that/ are desirous of the French-toung./ By G. D. L. M. N./ AT LONDON/ Printed by R. Field, and are to be sold by H./ Iackson, dwelling in Fleestreet, beneath/ the conduit, at the signe of S. Iohn/ the Euangelist. 1592.

Mr. Fred. W. Ashley, Chief Assistant Librarian, writes me: "The only indication as to the date when the Library of Congress received its copy of De la Mothe's *French Alphabeth* is found in the Library's rubber-stamp of ownership bearing the date 1886 on the tiele-page."

⁷ The Treasurie of the French Tong London, 1580.

⁸ A Dictionarie French and English was published in the next year, 1593.

of Congress A. G. Kennedy (A Bibliography of Writings on the English Language, Cambridge and New Haven, 1927, no. 2513) records the title without comment, and repeats the error of the Library of Congress Catalogue in giving De la Mothe's initials as "N. G." His name was George; the N probably stands for "Norman"; certainly it is no part of his name. The author, a religious refugee, was one of a large number of Normans in England at the time. The earliest record of his activities in England is his employment as tutor to Sir Henry Wallop's son in 1589 (Lambley, op. cit., p. 162). It is very likely that he is the "M. de la Mothe' mentioned in a list of French refugees from the Pays de Caux endorsed by Lord Burleigh who were said to be at Rye in 1585 and described as "repaired into England for religion" (Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, XX, pp. 292-293).

¹⁰ The margin is so damaged that the letters in brackets have been cut off.

This title-page is similar to that of the 1595 edition except for differences in spelling, the correction of two obvious errors (*Pouerbes, Potes*), the omission of the in the last line but one, and the change in the name of the printer and in the year of publication, as may be seen by comparing it with the title-page of the second edition, which is here printed from the Bodleian Library copy (Douce MM 298).

THE FRENCH/ ALPHABETH, TEACHING/ IN A VERY SHORT TIME BY/ a most easie way, to pronounce French natu-/ rally, to reade it perfectly, to write it/ truely, and to speake it accor-/ dingly./ Together with THE TREASVRE OF THE/ French tung, containing the rarest Sentences,/ Proverbes, Parables, Similies, Apothegmes,/ and Golden sayinges, of the most excellent/ French Authors, as well Po-/ ets as Orators./ The one diligently compiled, and the other pain-/ fully gathered and set in order, after the Al-/ phabeticall maner, for the benefite of those that are desirous of/ the French tung./ By G. D. L. M. N./ AT LONDON/ Printed by E. Allde, and are to be sold by H. Iackson,/ dwelling in Fleestreet, beneath the conduit,/ at the signe of S. John Evan-/ gelist. 1595.

The similarity of the editions throughout is such that we may say with certainty that the second edition was set up from a copy of the first, in different types, without revision or intentional change.

With an exception which is not very important, the little that has been said about De la Mothe and his work needs no revision on account of the unearthing of the earliest edition of his only book. Miss Lambley founded a biographical assertion upon certain statements in the 1595 edition. "At this date [1595]," she says, (p. 163), "De la Mothe had joined the group of teachers in St. Paul's Churchyard. He taught at the 'Signe of the Helmet,' and 'there you shall find him ever willing to show you any favour or curtesie he may'... Any one desirous of becoming acquainted with the author for his better furtherance of the French tongue could also make inquiries at the Sign of St. John the Evangelist in Fleet Street, beneath the Conduit, where lived the printer Hugh Jackson, commissioned to sell the book." This statement is taken from "An Advertisement to the Reader' in the second (1595) edition. The "Advertisement" appears in the first (1592) edition in exactly the same form. De la Mothe "had joined the group" at least as early as 1592.

This slight illustration will serve to show the danger of depending upon personal or topical references in Elizabethan language manuals without collating all the editions—and they were generally numerous—or even after having collated all of them. A better

example may be cited from the earlier French grammar of Hollyband, the French Schoolemaister. In the first edition of this popular school book of which we have a copy, that of 1573, a fairly definitely dated reference is made to the death of Richard Edwards. the author of Damon and Pithias.

There is a good song: I do maruell who hath made it. It is the maister of the children of the Queenes chapell. What is his name?

Maister Edwards. Is he a liue? I heard say that he was dead. It is alreadie a good while a go: ther are at the least fiue years and a half. Truelie it is a pitie: he was a man of good wit, and a good poete: and a great player of playes. (page 132)

Richard Edwards died on the thirty-first of October, 1566. Five and a half years "at the least" would carry us into 1572, when very likely copy was being prepared for the book which appeared in 1573. The reference, then, is in this case accurate and dependable. But so thoroughly conventionalized and fast-set are the dialogues in Elizabethan conversation manuals that these same questions and answers are not only left unaltered in the next edition (that of 1582, announced as "newly corrected"), but are continued through to the edition of 1606 (announced as "now newly corrected and amended by P. Erondelle'').

The accepted theory is that the French Schoolemaister was first printed "most probably in 1565," though no copy of this edition is known to have survived. This belief is based upon a reference in the preface to Hollyband's French Littleton to the French Schoolemaister as already published. In a paper printed in The Library ten years ago, 12 Mr. A. W. Pollard argued against this view and sought to show that the 1573 edition of the Schoolemaister is the first print of the work. Mr. Pollard's chief concern was to re-

¹¹ Lambley, op. cit., p. 134. For one reason or another Miss Lambley gave no attention to Mr. Pollard's article in *The Library*, published five years beno attention to Mr. Pollard's article in *The Library*, published five years before her book appeared. Unknowingly, however, she sets aside one argument of Mr. Pollard's against the possibility of a date earlier than 1568 for the publication of the *Schoolemaister*. Mr. Pollard had argued that Hollyband did not come to England in 1562, as is usually guessed, but nearer to 1568, since 1568 "is the year in which he is first entered in the list of Aliens." But Miss Lambley quotes from the "Return of Aliens in London" (*Hugenot Society Publications*, X) the information that "in 1571 he is said to have been in London seven years," or as early as 1564, and from the "Lists of Denizations" (*Hugenot Society Publications*, ad. nom. "A Sancto Vinculo,") the statement that "in 1566 he took out letters of denization."

¹² Vol. XXI (3d. Series, Vol. VI), 1915, pp. 77 ff. ("Claudius Hollyband").

move the date of 1566 as that of the first edition of the *Littleton*, with its reference to the earlier *Schoolemaister*. The title-page of the *Littleton* carries the date of 1566 plainly printed in arabic numerals, but upon solid bibliographical grounds and upon less certain biographical evidence Mr. Pollard makes a strong case for his contention that the date 1566 is a typographical error, probably for 1576¹³ If the *Littleton* was not published before 1576, the reference to the *Schoolemaister* would be to the 1573 edition. For the details of Mr. Pollard's argument, the reader must be referred to the article in *The Library*.

If an edition of the Schoolemaister was issued in 1565, reference to the death of Richard Edwards could not have appeared in it. In the absence of any copy of a supposed edition "about 1565," it cannot, of course, be proved that the Edwards reference was not inserted as an addition to the 1573 edition, but in view of the hard-and-fast contents of the conversation manuals—unchanged for more than thirty years in the case of this statement—it seems likely that the correctly dated reference of 1573 is a first use in a first edition of this dialogue and that the chances are against its having been inserted in the 1573 print, which does not even boast of the highly unreliable advertising term of "revised" or "newly corrected." If this is true, it adds weight to Mr. Pollard's arguments against the existence of a "ghost" edition of the Schoolemaister earlier than that of 1573.

¹³ In the Short-Title Catalogue, 1926, "1566 [or rather 1576]." In 1915 Mr. Pollard, modestly confessing his newly acquired interest in Hollyband, regretted the lack of information about him then available in English. Since that time the industrious Hugenot text-book writer and schoolmaster has received greater attention. In addition to the consideration which he had from Miss Lambley, selections from the Littleton and the Schoolemaister have recently been published in an attractive and popular form in a Haslewood Book of 1925 (The Elizabethan Home Discovered in Two Dialogues by Claudius Hollyband and Peter Erondell, edited by M. St. Clare Byrne), which R. B. McKerrow (R.E.S., II, 1926 [No. 5, Jan.], 112) calls "a pleasant volume of selections" which deserves "a most cordial welcome." The editor, however, takes Hollyband's language exercise books entirely too seriously as social documents and apparently has not given sufficient consideration to the conventionality of the pedagogical type. Ignored are Miss Lambley's discussion of Hollyband and F. J. Curtis's reprint of the dialogues in the first edition of the French Littleton, A Sixteenth Century English-French Phrase Book, in "Festschrift zum 75. Neuphilologentag zu Frankfort," 1912.

LATIN MANUSCRIPTS IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES

By B. L. ULLMAN University of Chicago

The following list is a supplement to those given by M. de Ricci and by me in the last few years. For the scope and purpose of the lists I refer the reader to these two articles. It is to be hoped that further supplements may be published from time to time. Unfortunately some private owners of manuscripts do not wish the learned world to know what manuscripts they own, chiefly because they do not wish to be bothered with inquiries. They have not learned that the ownership of such treasures involves a responsibility.

Let me remind the reader that I have been able to examine but few of the manuscripts listed. These lists are purely preliminary and for the convenience and information of scholars; eventually a complete catalog should be made.

AUGUSTINE

De Doctrina Christiana. Ann Arbor, Mich., University of Michigan, 152. Vel. (XII C.), ff. 120. Incomplete at beginning and end. Obtained from W. H. Allen, Philadelphia, in 1925. Mr. Allen bought it in England.

Manuale. New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 154 (B. 99). (XV C.).

Super Epistolam Iohannis Homiliae Decem. New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 334.
Vel. (VII C.), 133 ff. Written at Luxeuil.
Sermones. New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 17.
Vel. (VII C.).

BEDE

Commentarius in Samuelem. New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 335. Vel. (IX C.), 143 ff. From the Cathedral of Beauvais.

Historia Anglorum. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane. Vel. (XIV C.), 146 ff. Probably written in England.

BOETHIUS

De Consolatione. Ann Arbor, Mich., University of Michigan, 154. Vel. (XV C.), 144 ff. Contains Boethius ff. 1-67v, Symmachus Floril. ff. 68-121v, Boethius Index ff. 122-141v, blank 142-144. Inscription: Liber M hug fframite (??). Bookplate of F. E. Sotheby Ecton. Obtained from W. H. Allen, Philadelphia, in 1925. See J. E. Dunlap in P.A.P.A. LVII (1926), p. xxv.

¹ Philological Quarterly, I (1922), 100; V (1926), 152.

CAESAR

Opera. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane. Vel. (XV C.), 187 ff. (f. 137 missing). Armorial stamp of De Kay.

CICERO

Epistolae. New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 403. (XV C.).
Tusculanae Disputationes. Chicago, Ill., B. L. Ullman. Pap. (XV C.), 132 ff.
Written in Italy. Contains also Leonardo Bruni's Introductio ad Philosophiam Moralem and Bernardus' Epistola de Modo et Cura Rei Familiaris. Obtained from P. M. Barnard, Tunbridge Wells, England, in 1915 (Catalog 104, No. 68).

De Senectute, De Amicitia, Paradoxa, Synonima. Pittsburgh, Pa., Edward Duff Balken. Vel. (XV C.). Contains also De Punctorum Ordine Tractatus. Written in Italy.

FESTUS (PAULUS DIACONUS)

Pauli Excerpta ex Libris Festi de Verborum Significatu. Chicago, Ill., B. L. Ullman. Pap. (1465), 85 ff. Contains also Gasparino Barzizza's Orthographia and De Elocutione. From the library of William Henry Black (bought by him of George Willis, London dealer, in 1848). Obtained from P. M. Barnard, Tunbridge Wells, England.

HORACE

Opera. New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 404. Vel. (XI-XII C.).

JEROME

Adversus Pelagium. Chicago, Ill., B. L. Ullman. Pap. (XV C.), 33 ff. Obtained from H. Hugendubel, Munich.

Epistolae. New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 477. (XV C.). De Viris Illustribus. New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 401. XV C.).

Vitae Patrum. New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 626. (XIV C.).

JUSTINIAN

Institutiones. New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 442. (XIII C.).
Novellae. The University of Chicago manuscript mentioned in the previous list (KC 817 N) was written in the fourteenth century, though the University catalog assigns it to the middle of the thirteenth. It contains 150 ff.

JUSTINUS

—Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane. Vel. (XV C.), 129+4 ff. Florentine, about 1450. At end, "Alfonsus Palentinus."

JUVENAL

New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 274. (XV C.).
Ann Arbor, Mich., University of Michigan, 147. Vel. (XV C.), 111 ff. Contains also Persius. Inscription in Hebrew on f.11v: Piero Antonio Genilo (?) Rossi (?). Belonged to the Patrizzi family (coat of arms f.1, f.111; inscription f.111: Patricie). From the library of George Dunn, Woolley Hall near Maidenhead. Obtained from Voynich in 1924.

LIVY

---New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 476. (XV C.).



LUCRETIUS

---New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 482. (XV C.).

OVID

Heroides. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane. Vel. (XV C.), 74 ff. Written in northern Italy. Name on ff. 1, 41, 73: Di Casas Minutoli Tegrimi. From the library of A. Firmin-Didot (Paris, 1878, No. 14, in which previous owner is given as M. Eug. Piot).

Metamorphoses. New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 443 (XV C.).

PERSIUS

See under Juvenal.

SALLUST

Catilina, Jugurtha. Ann Arbor, Mich., University of Michigan, 145. Vel. (XII C.), 81 ff. Inscription on f.81v (XIV C.?): Est liber iste mei Bernardini nomine dicti et de pretore sanguinitate vocor. Obtained from Voynich in 1925.

SOLINUS

——Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane. Pap. (1463), 95 ff. Written in Italy. Name on fly-leaf: Di Antonio Orsetti (XVII C.). From the library of G. Libri (London, 1859, No. 947).

SYMMACHUS

See under Boethius.

TERENCE

——Ann Arbor, Mich., University of Michigan, 149. Vel. (XV C.), 165 ff. Written in Italy. Obtained in 1925 from Voynich, who bought it in Italy.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS

——Ann Arbor, Mich., University of Michigan, 148. Vel. (about 1400), 126 ff. Written by two hands. Obtained in 1924 from Voynich, who bought it in Italy. See F. W. Kelsey in T.A.P.A. LVI (1925), 242.

VIRGIL

Opera. New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 223. (XV C.).

MISCELLANEOUS

Grammatici Veteres. New York, N.Y., Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 413. (XV C.).

JUVENAL IN ENGLAND 1750-1802

By Robert Calvin Whitford Knox College

In summarizing the influence of D. Junius Juvenalis upon English literature, the casual observer skips blithely from *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, which was published in 1749, to Gifford's virile translation that was published in 1802. In the intervening half century so serenely disregarded, the Satires of Juvenal were not unknown. Indeed, they were frequently translated and widely imitated, and the Juvenalian spirit was one of the important factors in social progress in that revolutionary era. One might go on to urge that in Byron's masterpieces the hands are the hands of Horace but the voice is the voice of Juvenal. The purpose of this paper, however, is merely to present evidence of the widespread influence of Juvenal in the period indicated and to suggest briefly a reason for this vogue.

The "Dryden" version of the Saturae, first issued in 1693, was looked upon as a standard of excellence in free translation throughout the eighteenth century. It was several times reissued as a whole, and certain of the satires were republished individually in the collected works of their authors. In the second half of the century there were at least two editions. Of these the first appeared in 1754.¹ The other is in the twelfth volume of R. Anderson's Complete Edition of the Poets of Great Britain [1795].² The Eighth Satire as translated by George Stepney for the Dryden version was included in The Works of Celebrated Authors, Of whose Writings there are but Small Remains. Volume the Second. Containing the Works of George Stepney, Esq; William Walsh, Esq; Thomas Tickell, Esq; and Poems by Bishop Sprat.³ (London, Tonson, 1750).

Congreve's translation of the Eleventh Satire had a place in The

¹ See the British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books.

² Pp. 637-717. The five Satires which were Dryden's own share in the work are included in the Derrick edition of the *Miscellaneous Works of John Dryden*... (London, 1760), IX, 160-336.

^{3 &}quot;Juvenal, the Eighth Satire" occupies pp. 22-46 in a volume of 415 pages.

Works of Mr. William Congreve. Volume the Third. Containing, The Mourning Bride, a Tragedy. The Judgment of Paris, a Masque. Semele, an Opera. Poems upon several Occasions. Birmingham, Printed by John Baskerville. For J. and R. Tonson, in the Strand, London. MDCCLXI.

Although the reviewers contended that, to be justified, a new version should excel that of Dryden and his affiliated "Hands," there were several new translations before that of Gifford. In 1753 appeared A Translation of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal by R. Hingeston.⁵ In 1755, Samuel Derrick advertised a forthcoming translation of Juvenal "with notes, &c.," and Dodsley printed in a shilling pamphlet Derrick's version of the Third Satire.⁶ In 1760 appeared The Satires of Juvenal, in Latin and English, with Notes by John Stirling.⁷

Another partial translation, or pseudo-translation, is the abridgment of the Tenth Satire that Amory interpolated in his eccentric Life of John Buncle (1766). Three years later there was a new edition of the prose translation by Doctor Thomas Sheridan, the learned and witty grandfather of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. The 1769 edition was issued in Dublin; there appears to have been another Dublin edition in 1777, and also in that year there was an edition issued by Nicholson in both Cambridge and London. The title of the London edition of 1777, as of the edition of 1739, is, The Satires of Juvenal translated: with Explanatory and Classical Notes Relating to the Laws and Customs of the Greeks and Romans.

^{4&}quot;The Eleventh Satire of Juvenal" fills pp. 308-332. It reappeared also in Bell's *Poets of Great Britain* (1784), XXVIII, 199-212, and in the seventh volume (1794) of Anderson's *Poets*, pp. 549-552.

⁵ Noticed in the Gentleman's Magazine, XXIII, 298, June, 1753.

⁶ The Third Satire of Juvenal, translated into English Verse by Samuel Derrick, is noticed in the Monthly Review, XII, 229.

⁷ There was a second edition in 1763. Both are listed in Lowndes, *Bibliographer's Manual*, and in the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum* of Wilhelm Engelmann, the eighth edition edited by Dr. E. Preuss.

^{**} The Life of John Buncle, Esq; containing various Observations and Reflections, made in several Parts of the World and many Extraordinary Relations. . . (London, MDCCLXVI), Vol. II, pp. 499-512.

⁹ In Halkett and Laing, A Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain (1885), the 1777 edition is attributed to
"Samuel (*) Dunster" but it is practically identical in wording with the
1739 edition. For opportunity to compare the two I am indebted to the
courtesy of officials of the New York Public Library and the Library of
Yale University. The 1769 edition is listed in the British Museum catalogue.

In 1785 came the truly notable edition and translation by Edward Owen, M.A., "Rector of Warrington, and Master of the Free School in that Town," The Satires of Juvenal, translated into English Verse; with a correct Copy of the original Latin on the opposite Page; cleared of all the most exceptionable Passages, and illustrated with marginal Notes from the best Commentators. Also, Dr. Brewster's Persius, with the Original on the opposite Page, and Notes from Casaubon, to illustrate the Design and Method, as well as Scope of the several Satires.¹⁰

This translator was rather vigorously censured by the Critical Reviewers because he rendered the mock-heroic passage of the Fourth Satire in Hudibrastics instead of in the conventional heroic couplet. In the following year, he reissued his translation with an answer to the reviewers. The title of the second edition is, A Translation of Juvenal and Persius into English Verse. With I. A chronology adapted to their writings. II. An essay on the satire of the ancients and the abuses of modern satire. And III. A confutation of the censure past upon the first edition by the Critical Reviewers. By Edward Owen, M.A. Second edition: with a new translation of Persius instead of Dr. Brewster's. 11

Three years later the Reverend Martin Madan, the unfortunate author of *Thelyphthora*, published a complete version of Juvenal.¹² He made the heroic attempt to render the *Saturae* line for line, word for word, into something that should approximate English verse. The Elizabethan advocates of classical metres might have smiled, or choked, over some of his almost dactylic lines.

In 1791, versions of the Fourth and Fourteenth Satires appeared in the *Miscellanies* of Captain Thomas Morris.¹³ They are clear and not unpoetic translations, although their author weakened his

¹⁰ This title is from Monthly Review, LXXVI, 451, (1787), except that there "Casaubon" is misprinted "Causabon" and the annotation is "8vo., 2 vols., 7 s. bound, Lowndes, 1786." The B.M. catalogue gives practically the same title with the date 1785.

¹¹ This title is from the copy in the library of Columbia University. Immediately after the title-page this book has an unnumbered leaf with an advertisement evidently intended for the first volume, which consisted of the Latin text only. The British Museum catalogue records possession of the first volume only. Another edition on the original plan of printing text and translation on alternate pages was issued in 1791. It was reviewed in the Town and Country Magazine, XXIII, 450.

¹² A new and literal Translation of Juvenal and Persius; with copious Explanatory Notes, by which these difficult satirists are rendered easy and familiar to the reader... (London, MDCCLXXXIX). In two volumes.

¹³ Miscellanies in Prose and Verse (London, 1791), pp. 68-121.

verse by diffuseness, as do most poets who attempt to render Latin hexameters by heroic couplets.

The scholar, Gilbert Wakefield, published in 1795 a volume of *Poetical Translations* that included a version of the Tenth Satire. ¹⁴ In 1797, a part of Gifford's translation of the same satire appeared in the *Anti-Jacobin Review*. ¹⁵

Finally, in the fall of 1801, there came forth a quite absurd metrical version, The Satires of Juvenal, by William Rhodes. And in 1802 appeared at last Gifford's magnum opus, The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis. Translated into English Verse, by William Gifford, Esq. With Notes and Illustrations. 4to. lxvii + 486 pp. (London, 1802).

In addition to the translations, there were many free paraphrases or imitations of Juvenal. Of these the most reputable is the volume by Edward Burnaby Greene entitled, The Satires of Juvenal paraphrastically imitated and adapted to the Times. With a Preface. (London, 1763).¹⁷ This is a mildly entertaining piece of work, though often the sense is far from that of the original Latin. The Sixth Satire, for example, is considerably softened; women are criticised not for Roman vices but for such foibles as enjoying Italian music and preferring Barry to Garrick as a stage lover.

¹⁴ Poetical Translations from the Ancients, by Gilbert Wakefield, was reviewed in the British Critic, VI, 244-246, with unkind comparisons between Wakefield's translation and the versions by Dryden and Johnson.

¹⁵ Anti-Jacobin Review, VI, 280-281, in the course of a review of "The Satires of Persius, translated by William Drummond, Esq. M.P., 8vo, pp. 111. Wright, London, 1797."

¹⁶ This book is reviewed in the British Critic, XIX, 49-58. Like several other translations, it was issued with an accompanying Latin text. Editions of the Saturae in the original Latin only, I have made no attempt to enumerate. Engelmann mentions three published in England between 1750 and 1800. There was also one French version that was well known in England during the half century, Satires de Juvenal traduites par M. Dusaulx, Ancien Commissaire de la Gendarmerie de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Nancy. (Paris, 1770).

Lettres de Nancy. (Paris, 1770).

17 Pp. xxiv, 229, 12mo. Since the British Museum Catalogue gives the date of publication as 1764, it appears that the little book was reissued. At least it gave its author a name, for in 1763 the Monthly Review (XXVIII, 487) remarks that The Tower, a poetical Epistle, inscribed to John Wilkes, Esq., seems to come from "the author of the new paraphrase of Juvenal." In 1766 appeared The Politician, a Poem. Addressed to Mr. James Scott. . . By the Author of Juvenal's Satires imitated and adapted to the Times. Greene was the writer of at least four other satires, two of which he claimed for himself as author of the Juvenal paraphrase: Poetical Essays. By the Author of Juvenal's Satires Imitated (1772) is noticed in the Monthly Review, XLVII, 150ff. The Conciliation; a Poem. By the Author of Juvenal's Satires, paraphrastically imitated is noticed in the Monthly Review, LVIII, 398.

The author's political bias is shown in his praise of Pitt and censure of Bute, in the Tenth Satire and elsewhere. His religio-political position is suggested by his derision of Methodists in the Third Satire and hearty condemnation of Jesuits in the Fifteenth.

Another series of paraphrases was entitled: *Imitations of Juvenal and Persius* by Thomas Nevile, A.M. This book, a small octavo, appeared in 1769.¹⁸ Earlier in the same year, the same author had issued, by way of testing the public taste, *The Fourteenth Satire of Juvenal, imitated*, a version that the Monthly Reviewer welcomed as "incomparably the best that has hitherto been made of the same satire." ¹⁹

Several other imitations of specific satires appeared during the half century. Most important were Doctor Johnson's two paraphrases, which were several times reissued.²⁰ Among the paraphrases by less distinguished authors were the following:

The Subscription Soldier, in Imitation of the Sixteenth Satire of Juvenal (London, [1760]).²¹

An "Imitation of Juvenal's First Satire," on pages 29-85 of XSMWPDRIBVNWLXY: or, The Sauce-pan (London, 1781).²² Nobility: a Poem. In Imitation of Juvenal's Eighth Satire (London, 1783).²³

Seventeen Hundred and Ninety-one: a Poem, in Imitation of the Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal. By A. Murphy. (London, 1791).²⁴
Flagellation of the Whigs. A Poem. In Imitation of the First Satire of Juvenal. By John Dryden, junior, Esq. [1792].²⁵

¹⁸ The title is given as it appeared in the *Monthly Review*, XLII, 46. According to a note in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*... (London, 1812), III, 78, the volume included versions of five satires of Persius and only three of Juvenal, the seventh, thirteenth, and fourteenth.

¹⁹ Mo. Rev. XL, 136-137. Here the name was spelled "Neville."

²⁰ They were included, of course, in his *Poetical Works* (1785) as well as in the three other editions of his poetical works and four editions of Collected Works that were published before 1802. London was apparently republished alone for the last time in 1750. The Vanity of Human Wishes was republished in Two Satires (Oxford, 1759), in Dodsley's Collection, in Miscellaneous and Fugitive Pieces, Vol. II, (1774), and in Roach's Beauties of the Modern Poets of Great Britain in 1793. For most of the material in this summary note I am indebted to the bibliography in the Cambridge History of English Literature.

²¹ Mo. Rev., XXII, 76. This is an attack on the militia.

 $^{^{22}\,\}mathrm{Good}$ couplets, but highly personal satire upon Tickell, Burke, and Sheridan.

²³ Title from British Museum catalogue, where also is the record: "Imitations (of Sat. iii and xvi) London, 1790?"

²⁴ Three copies in the British Museum.

²⁵ Scots Magazine, LIV, 553.

The Love of Gain: a Poem. Imitated from the Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal. By M. G. Lewis, Esq., M.P. Author of the Monk, Castle-Spectre, &c. 2d edition. (London, 1799).²⁶

The Force of Conscience. A Poem in Imitation of the Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal. By Arthur Murphy, Esq. Second edition. (London, 1799).²⁷

The Pride of Birth: a Satire in Imitation of the Eighth Satire of Juvenal. With Notes, critical and illustrative; adapted to the Characters and Manners of the present Age (London, 1801).²⁸

In addition to these avowed imitations,²⁹ there are many other satires that, while not distinctly paraphrases of Juvenal, are evidently written in emulation of his violent verses. Any reader familiar with the poems of Charles Churchill, for example, will agree that the subjects and style of that trenchant critic of life are often reminiscent of Juvenal. This fact his contemporaries recognized. Horace Walpole probably expressed the popular consensus when he wrote, concerning certain wrong-doers: "Such culprits called for the asperity of a Juvenal—and met with one in Churchill."

But while some writers have called Churchill the "English Juvenal," that title certainly belongs to Samuel Johnson. Throughout his life, Doctor Johnson found in Juvenal one poet with whom he was in thorough sympathy. Says Boswell: "I remember when I regretted to him that he had not given us more of Juvenal's Satires, he said he probably should give more, for he had them all in his head."

²⁶ Mo. Rev., n.s. XXX, 22-25.

²⁷ British Critic, XIV, 308-309.

²⁸ Brit. Crit., XVII, 431.

²⁹ If one were endeavoring to bridge the gap between Gifford's Juvenal and English Bards and Scotch Reviewers, he would add to the list Modern Paris; a free Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal (1805); and A Farrago Libelli, a Poem, Chiefly Imitated from the First Satire of Juvenal (1806). The latter was attributed to Byron by the late Bertram Dobell in the English Review, XXI, 10. An American item that might well be included, though it can scarcely have influenced the main current of literary progress, is A New Translation with notes of the Third Satire of Juvenal. To which are added miscellaneous Poems, original and translated. (New York, 1806). The author was John Duer.

³⁰ Satirical Poems Published anonymously by William Mason with Notes by Horace Walpole now first printed from his Manuscript. Edited with an Exposé of the Mystification, Notes, and Index by Paget Toynbee (Oxford, 1926)), p. 32. Cf. in the review of Hugh Kelly's Thespis in the Monthly Review, XXXV, 388-390, the remark that Churchill "has been justly stiled the Juvenal of the present times."

³¹ Boswell's Life of Johnson, edited by George Birkbeck Hill (1887), I, 193.

The American authority on William Mason, Professor John W. Draper, is of the opinion that Mason's notable satires are of the Juvenalian type.³² To many, they seem rather Horatian. On the other hand, there can be no question but that Doctor John Wolcot ("Peter Pindar") had some of the Juvenalian iron in his blood, as did also his enemy, William Gifford, who published the *Baviad* and the *Maeviad* long before his great version of the *Saturae* of Decimus Junius Juvenalis.³³

A number of the anonymous verse-satires of the period show the influence of Juvenal. The Monthly Reviewer detected it, for instance, in *London: a Satire* (1751),³⁴ a vigorous rebuke for gamblers, masqueraders, people who attend plays, and people who seem irreverent in church. Similarly, *The Indignant Muse, a Satire.* To a Friend is criticised thus in the Monthly Review for April, 1755:³⁵ "In brief, some youth seems to have overheated himself by reading Juvenal," (presumably the Second Satire).

The Adulteress (1773), as described by the reviewer, may have been a free paraphrase of a part of the Sixth Satire.³⁶ The satirist, declares the critic, "lashes the Messalinas of modern London, with those of ancient Rome in his view; following Juvenal, in a spirited but irregular imitation." The Juvenaliad [1774] speaks for itself.³⁷ The Female Congress, or the Temple of Cotytto (London, 1779), probably the work of William Preston, is interesting for the lively "advertisement" in which the author cites Juvenal's calling a spade a spade as a precedent for his own indelicacy; his strange insistence is that "Satire is not intended for the innocent and spotless, but the vicious and contaminated." The Voluntary Exile, a Poetical Essay (1784)³⁹ and The Final Farewell, a Poem, written on retiring from London (1787) seem to have been modeled after

³² William Mason, A Study in Eighteenth-Century Culture. (New York, 1924), p. 246.

³³ Baviad (1791), Maeviad (1795). But Gifford had made translations of at least ten of the satires before 1782. See the "Introduction" prefixed to his Juvenal.

³⁴ Mo. Rev. V. 397.

³⁵ Mo. Rev. XII, 380-381.

³⁶ Mo. Rev. XLVIII, 318.

³⁷ Gentleman's Magazine, XLIV, 86. The author was George Wallis. He published *Perjury*, a Satire later in the same year, and it was noticed in the Monthly Review, L, 484.

³⁸ Mo. Rev. LX, 318.

³⁹ Mo. Rev. LXX, 310-311.

the Third Satire.⁴ There is evidence of admiration for Juvenal in the pseudonyms chosen by the authors of Vulcan's Rebuke. Submissively addressed to the worshipful Peter Pindar, Esq. by his affectionate Cousin Paul Juvenal, Gent. &c &c. (1788)⁴¹ and Modern Manners. A Poem in Two Cantos. By Horace Juvenal (1793).⁴²

Even a superficial investigation shows that the influence of Juvenal was widespread in England in the latter half of the eighteenth century. There was no gap of a half century between the Juvenalian paraphrases of Johnson and the great new Juvenalian satire of Byron.

To understand why the spirit of Juvenal persisted in England during the Romantic Revolt it is only necessary to glance at the most obvious reasons for D. Junius Juvenalis's becoming a satirist in old Rome. Although the poet may have visited England, and even Ireland,⁴³ his bitterness is not due to his experiences in those remote and barbarous islands. Nor is it due exclusively to the gout and dyspepsia to which some critics would like to attribute it. Juvenal found the stimulus for his violence of invective in the social and political conditions of decadent Rome. He lived in the Silver Age.

Doctor Johnson, likewise,—to say nothing of "Junius" the letter writer or of the crabtree Churchill,—lived in a Silver Age. Satirists in Great Britain in the middle of the eighteenth century knew conditions similar to those that Juvenal hated in Rome of the first century. In literature, there was a struggle to keep the classic forms though the classic spirit was moribund. In politics there was, if not the efficient tyranny of a Domitian, the attempted tyranny of George the Third. In religion, there could be found both rampant fanaticism and crawling, sneering skepticism. In society, there were all the old vices, with Gin Lane superadded. To visualize the London that was a fertile hotbed for satire, one has but to glance at a dozen engravings by that Juvenal of the graphic arts, William Hogarth. Juvenalian satire flourished in Johnson's England because it had a favorable environment there.

⁴⁰ Mo. Rev. LXXVII, 373, and Town and Country Magazine, XIX, 294.

⁴¹ Mo. Rev. LXXIX, 78.

⁴² British Critic, III, 86, and Critical Review, ser. 2, VIII, 348. Cf. also The Mobiad by "Democritus Juvenal" (1770), noticed in the Critical Review, XXX, 312.

⁴³ See "Juvenal in Ireland," by R. Knox McElderry in the Classical Quarterly, XVI, 151-162.

JEREMY COLLIER AND FRANCIS BACON

By EDMUND L. FREEMAN University of Montana

I believe the ordinary critical opinion is that the Periodical essay, with its more agreeable lines and more social outlook, was the creation of Richard Steele. When precursors of it are looked for, Defoe's *Review*, with its popular literary methods for propogating contemporaneous ideas, is regarded as evidence enough to prove the newspaper origin of the new essay. The Baconian essay with its intellectual-diary cast of thought and its artificial and formal manner is supposed to have been put on the back shelf, with respect, but also with lack of interest.

If Jeremy Collier's name were associated with Steele's name it would be supposed the connection was through their association with dramatic literature: Collier, the sharp critic of the abuses of the late artificial comedy; Steele, one of the initiators of the new sentimental drama. But several years before writing the Short View, Collier had started writing essays, and in these essays I believe there are more interesting things to think of in connection with Steele's work, then there are in Collier's dramatic criticism.

Though he wrote three substantial volumes full of essays, and published them in 1697, 1705, and 1709, and republished them five or six times before 1722, Collier probably regarded them as incidental work. In the preface to the 1709 essays he explains to his friends that his chief literary interest is still in his *Church History*, and that the second volume of it will soon be under way, but "Things of this Bulk must not be precipitated. A little Breath after a Folio may not be amiss."

But if essays were something like an easement in these breathing spells, they were not playthings from his pen. In the same volume he says,

When I published the Third Part of my Essays, I almost resolv'd to go no farther in this kind of Writing: For, unless I'm mistaken, 'tis no very easie Business not to miscarry. But besides the Discouragement from the Manner, the Matter is not without Disadvantage. The Ground is beaten, as well as slippery, and the Subjects either barren, or seiz'd. Theophrastus and

Tully, Montaigne and Bacon, Bruyers and Bellgard, not to mention others,

have exercis'd their Fancy this way.

These are Names of Character, and most of them Authors of the first Class.

These are Names of Character, and most of them Authors of the first Class. Men of their Genius and Improvements, are most likely to glean up the best Thoughts, and draw off the Spirit of the Argument. When the Mine has been work'd by such Hands, what need we wonder if 'tis almost spent!

I grant, 'tis possible to raise New Notions out of an old Theme. There's no constant Necessity of Borrowing, or Coincidence. Different Inventions, and later Discoveries in Philosophy and Religion are some Relief this way. But then these Succours won't always do. I must confess, I found some difficulty to gain fresh Quarters, and get into a Tracke by myself. . . 1

The "Different Inventions, and later Discoveries in Philosophy and Religion" that Collier gets into his essays are of considerable interest and perhaps value in their light on the popular interest in profound subjects at the end of the seventeenth century; and the way in which Collier strives to make them popular links him closely with Steele and the new essay. But our interest in tracing Bacon's influence is more properly restricted to setting forth those parts in which Collier "found some Difficulty" in getting into a track by himself. I take one of the most obvious parts first. The essay "Of Friendship" opens as a dialogue between two friends, Philander and Sophronius. Soon Sophronius, who has just lost his closest friend, is carrying the theme on as a monologue with only occasional questions from Philander. I set down first only occasional sentences that remind us of Bacon's essay, and the topic sentences that show, the direction of the thought.

To begin then, since you will have it so: I remember 'Tis a famous saying, in Aristotle, That he who is pleas'd with Solitude must be either a wild Beast, or a God. . . . Under Favour, Great Men want Supporters as well as others; and wise man will provide them. . . . I think now, we may have accounted for and wise man will provide them. . . I think now, we may have accounted for the Rise of Friendship; I wish you would run over the Means of Cultivating and Preserving it; the Extent of the Offices, and the Advantages of the Relation. . . . As far as Prudence and Justice will permit, we ought to use a Friend with all the Frankness and Generosity Imaginable. . . . Augustus, and Tiberius . . . were glad to part with the Singularity of their State in some Measure; . . . Where they saw the Disposition agreeable. They made no Scruple to raise mean Subjects to the highest Honours, to qualify them for Intimacy and Conversation. . . . 'Tis somewhat Remarkable what Commines observes of Charles Duke of Burgundy: This Prince was so very reserved, that he would impart his Secrets to Nobody; especially those which troubled him most. Friendship has a noble Effect upon all Accidents and Conditions: him most. . . . Friendship has a noble Effect upon all Accidents and Conditions: It relieves our Cares, raises our Hopes, and abates our Fears. It doubles our Joys and devides our Griefs. Neither is Friendship only serviceable to heighten our Pleasures, and compose our Passions. 'This likewise of Sovereign Use to the Understanding. . . . A Man by tumbling his thoughts, and forming them into Expressions, gives them a new kind of Fermentation; which works them into a finer Body, and makes them much clearer than they were before. . . . In a word, the Advantages of Conversation is such, that for want of Company a Man had better walk to a Post, than let his Thoughts lie Smoking and

¹ Address "To the Reader."

Smothering in his Head. . . . To part with a tried Friend without great Provocation, is unreasonable Levity.

Two paragraphs entire from near the end of the essay show hom completely Collier has relied on Bacon's essay "Of Friendship."

Another Advantage of Friendship, is the Opportunity of receiving good 'Tis dangerous relying upon our own opinion. Affection is apt to corrupt the Judgment. Man, like false Glasses, generally represent their Complexion better than Nature has made it. And as they are likely to overflourish their own Case, so their Flattery is hardest to be discover'd. For Who would suspect such Treachery at Home? Who would imagine his Reason suborn'd against his Interest; and that himself was guilty of putting Tricks upon himself? Now Nothing is so effectual to rescue a man out of his own Hands, as the plain Dealing of a Friend. For Instruction from Books, strikes the Imagination more faintly, than that which is delivered viva voce. observing resembling miscarriages in others, may mislead us by the Disparity of the Instance. Besides, People are not fond of searching after their own Faults. To lye poring upon our Imperfections, and Deformities, is dull Entertainment. A Man has no Pleasure in proving that he has play'd the fool: And therefore had rather go upon any other Discovery. Accordingly we may observe that they who are too Big, or too Wise, for Admonition, do a great many ill, unbecoming, and rediculous Things. As for Business, the Assistance of a Friend is most useful, to form the Undertaking, and secure the Steadiness of the Conduct. In Matters of Moment, our Hopes and Fears are commonly ill balanced. A Man is apt to be too eagerly engaged, to make just Remarks upon the Progress and Probability of Things. Nothing so proper as a judicious Friend in such a Case, to temper the Spirits, and moderate the Pursuit; to give the Signal for Action, to Press the Advantage, and strike the Critical Minute.

Foreign Intelligence may have a spy in it, and therefore should be cautiously received. Strangers (I call all such except Friends) are often designing in their Advice, and make a Property of their Client. And though their Inclinations are hearty, they may give wrong measures, by mistaking the Case. An old Friend has the whole Scheme in his Head. He knows the Constitution; and the Disease, the Strength, and Humours of him he assists: What he can do, and what he can bear. And therefore none so fit to prescribe; to direct the Enterprise, and secure the Main-Chance.

Farther: Friendship is not confined to the consulting Part; it comes in likewise at the Execution. Some Cases are so nice that a Man cannot appear in them himself, but must leave the Solliciting wholly to his *Friend*. For the Purpose: A Man cannot recommend himself without Vanity, nor ask many times without Uneasiness. But a kind of Proxy will do Justice to his Merits, and relieve his Modesty, and effect his Business; and all without Trouble, Blushing, or Imputation.

Collier in this essay is so near to not thinking at all for himself that it is obviously bothering him to find new skins for his old wine. He is enamoured of Bacon's way of saying things. There is no improvement in changing "In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statute or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother," into "In a word, the Advantage of Conversation is such, that for want of Company a Man had better talk to a Post, then let his Thoughts lie Smoking and Smothering in his

Head." It were better had the reader been recommended to his forgotten book of Bacon, and Collier spent his time in telling of his own friendships. But there is nothing of Montaigne in Collier's essays, and Bacon's essays on their own subjects are perfect enough not to need redoing if the writer is not to give us something of his personality in the redoing. We must go to the biographer to learn that this man, who took pages from Bacon's essays to write his own, on another occasion felt such scruples at having acknowledged the jurisdiction of a court that had remanded him on bail, that he walked before the Chief Justice and asked for imprisonment in discharge of his bail.

Another passage on books may not be paraphrased from Bacon, but if not, it shows that Collier has nearly mastered the aphoristic construction of Bacon, and thinks much as Bacon thinks on the subject.

Books are a guide in Youth, and an Entertainment for Age . . . When we are weary of the *Living*, we may repair to the Dead, who have nothing of Peevishness, Pride, or Design, in their Conversation. However,

To be constantly in the Wheel has neither Pleasure nor Improvement in it. A Man may as well expect to grow stronger by always Eating, as wiser by always Reading. Too Much overcharges Nature, and turns more into Disease than Nourishment. 'Tis Thought and Digestion which makes Books serviceable, and gives Health and Vigour to the Mind. Neither ought we to be too Implicit or Resigning to Authorities, but to examine before we Assent, and preserve our Reason in its just Liberties. To walk always upon *Crutches*, is the Way to lose the Use of our Limbs. Such an absolute Submission keeps us in a perpetual Minority, breaks the Spirits of the Understanding, and lays

us open to Imposture.

But, Books well managed afford Direction and Discovery. They strengthen the Organ, and enlarge the Prefect, and give a more universal Insight into Things, than can be learned from unlettered Observation. He who depends only upon his own Experience, Limits both of Place and Time: And it is not fit to draw a large Model, and to pronounce upon Business which is complicated and unusual. There seems to be much the same difference between a Man of and unusual. There seems to be much the same difference between a Man of Meer Practice, and another of Learning, as there is between an Empirick and a Physician. . . . On the other side: To take Measures wholly from Books, without looking into Men and Business, is like travelling in a Man, where though Countries and Cities are well enough distinguished yet Villages and private Seats are either Over-looked, or too generally Marked for a Stranger to find. And therefore he that would be a Master, must Draw by the Life, as well as Copy from Originals, and joyn Theory and Experience together.²

A final passage from another essay shows Collier again in the Baconian vein and probably drawing ideas rather freely from Bacon. So far as I can learn Collier had no specific interest in the subject of education, and to a reader of his original sermons and discourses, this passage sounds like recast borrowings:

^{2 &}quot;Entertainment of Books."

There's great Variety in the Humours of Children: some seem to have their Tempers made in a finer Mould than others. They are particularly generous and disinterested, mild and governable, and easily gain'd by gentle Usage. And some are no less remarkable for Qualities of Disadvantage. Now tho' some slender Dispositions to this Difference may take their Rise from Nature, and grow out of Constitution, yet Manners are generally the Result of Education. 'Tis the Advantage or Neglect of Discipline, the Difference of Management, and the Force of Example, which produces this Variety, and makes Children succeed or miscarry. (p. 76)

... To proceed: Childhood (I mean, come forward) is the best time for

... To proceed: Childhood (I mean, come forward) is the best time for improvement. Now the Memory is strong and the Body capable of Application, there's no need of long intervals for Refreshment, of putting into Port to Careen, or waiting the leisure of a weather-beaten Constitution. As yet the Mind is not over-charg'd with Cares, the Power of Interest is not grown up, and the Baits of Pleasure hang somewhat out of sight. Now, if ever, the Paper is blank, the Scales even, and the Affections most indifferent. They are unseiz'd by the Prevalence of Habit, and the Infection of ill Company.

However, we must guard against the other Extream: For without Care we may polish away the Substance, and file things until they are ready to snap in pieces: 'Tis not best to be always in the Wheel at first. Before the Muscles are firm, and the Bones well knit together, Weight and Pressure are very unseasonable. Health is the Basis of Improvement, and ought to be consulted. Without this, the Measures for Education are broken, the Instruments

of Thought are lost, and the Progress of Knowledge impracticable.

To come off this Argument, tho' not altogether a Digression If the Genius of Young People was suited in their Professions, the World would improve faster, and there would be a greater Progress made in Arts and Sciences. But Pride and Interest spoils all. Nature lies one way, and Friends and Preferment another: And what's to be done in the case? Why, we must make for the best Penny, and the best Post, right or wrong: Our Parents will have it so: Yes, we must fly beyond the strength of our Pinions, and be bred to bigger Business than we are born: Born, I mean, with respect to Capacity, not Condition. The Pulpit and Bar, to mention nothing else, sometimes suffer by this Fondness and Partiality . . . (p. 82)

And now a word or two about some other Qualities and Distinctions, and I

shall conclude.

Young People, when supported with the Consideration of competent Skill and Sufficiency, are generally hardy and enterprising. The Heat of their Blood, the Strength of their Constitution, and the Eagerness of their Desires, makes them overlook Difficulty, and press upon Danger with unusual Resolution. 'Tis true, they are often too unmanageable in Temper, too short in Thought and Experience, to draw up the Scheme: But when the Design is well form'd, they are best at the Execution. Old Age is apt to abound in Scruples, to object too far, and be over apprehensive of Accidents: And thus People are sometimes prudent to Inactivity: Thus a Project is, as it were, strifled and over-laid with Sense, and Things are made impracticable by being thought so. Whereas, Youth is happy in its Ignorance, mounts the higher for being ceel'd, and escapes a Danger by over-looking it. Light and Knowledge in some cases, serve only to disturb the Fancy, and sink the Courage. A Man walks safe over a Precipice, or narrow Bridge, in the Dark where his Fears would make him tumble in the Day-time.³

Collier's essay "Of Envy" shows an equal closeness of idea and phrase to Bacon's "Of Envy," and there are many other passages in which the parallelism of thought and expression is fairly close. But the significance of even these obviously plagiarized or para-



³ P. 87, "Of Infancy and Youth."

phrased essays can be overstated. They are not written in Collier's most natural manner. He seems more himself when his language is more flowing or when it is only varied here and there by incisive language. But when he is using Bacon's thought, he invariably uses Bacon's sententious language. It seems fair to say that Bacon probably influenced Collier in favor of the aphoristic But this conclusion is no stronger for the fact that Collier did not begin to write essays until he was forty-seven years of age. At least it is true that Bacon as an essayist was popular with Collier, and that on the side of language, Collier is much closer to Bacon than to Montaigne or to the character writers. No essayist today would write as close to his original as Collier sometimes did to Bacon, but he is hardly to be rebuked for plagiarism. From his frank acknowledgment of the difficulty in getting away from the able writing of the master essayists, among whom he numbered Bacon, we must believe that he expected to deceive no one by copying them. There is more reverence than theft in the borrowing.

With a little significance for us perhaps, Bacon's name is connected with "A Moral Essay upon Authors." After considerable treatment of the author's and the critic's responsibilities to society for books, Collier ends the essay with several pages of condemnation for the adulatory dedication in so many books. The gist of it can be given in a few of his own lines.

This superlative Stuff, I suppose, made by Lord Bacon's remark that the Muses suffer'd, and the Character of Learning sunk by such Application... If a Book has not Sense enough to make its own way, 'Tis in vain to call in the Assistance of Quality.... Upon the whole: if a man can't be his own Patron, and stand upon his own Legs, he had better keep close, and be quiet: To come abroad like a Cripple, and turn Beggar in the Dedication, is but an odd Contrivance.

If it were to our purpose, we could point out that there is more courage and judgment in this opinion on dedication than in the opinion on some more important book subjects, like censorship, for instance, that Collier tries judgment on.

The most of Collier's essays are in a kind of dialogue form. In the Preface to his 1705 volume he wrote:

In most of these *Heads*, I have pitch'd upon the form of *Dialogue*, by the Fiction of Conference, the *Reader's* Fancy is sometimes better engag'd, and the Impression goes deeper in his Memory.

He remarks further that it is only fair to the perplexing ques-

tions he treats to have both sides represented in Court. But as a matter of fact it is seldom a fair argument. Collier is as sure as the later Mr. Bickerstaff of the one side and the right side of all these perplexing questions, and the man who is on the wrong side does not do much talking. The essay "Of Theft" opens in this way:

Dolomedes Callimachus, what's the matter? What makes you search yourself with so much Concern? Have you lost any Thing?

Callimachus Yes: As I was standing in the Strand to see the Portugal Ambassador, one of your Divers, as they are called, dipt into my pocket, and carry'd off two Guineas, and about ten Shillings in silver. Now for all your smiling, I fancy he took something too much of me for seeing the sight.

Dolomedes People are apt to exact: But ne'er disturb yourself, this Sum won't break you. Besides, the Cleanliness of the Conveyance, is in my Opinion, an Abatement of the Misfortune. . . .

There follows on this a long discussion, for the most part monologue, on the theory of communism, and property, and trade. it is only the anti-democratic argument that is presented. difference from Bacon is as significant as the likeness in point of language. Bacon did not use his essays to initiate new or radical theories to the public mind. I believe the essays are behind his philosophical writings in that regard. But for the most part the essays are written in the spirit of the Antitheta. Bacon was putting all of what he knew of a question into his essays. them this philosophic method or search after the mean that keeps much of their wisdom from being commonplace. Collier was no trainer of the reader's mind. He was more nearly a dictator of his thoughts. He is lacking in enthusiasm, as his age was, but this lack is not equal to the presence of rationalism.

Collier suits his essays to the wider reading public of his day in another way than the dialogue manner. He either omits all classical sentences or uses them in a much more fully explained way than did Bacon. The essay "Of Pain" is the only one that draws to any extent on classical material. His feeling for structural outline is practically that of Bacon. Occasionally his development is over-elaborate or tedious, but it is never discursive. His conversational parts are not spontaneously conversational. The essay "Of Fortitude'' is an example of structure as firm and clear as any of Bacon's essays afford.

There is in Collier, too, the wider variety of the later essay. Bacon wrote on many subjects but not many types of subjects. lier's subjects range from the social subjects of duelling and of clothes to the metaphysical subjects of the genesis of ideas and of the insufficiency of the human reason. If the doctrine that all our ideas are derived from the senses lays at the root of the whole theory of man and society which was later to bring vigorous and violent criticism against the existing order and the reigning prejudices and to establish man as the measure of all things, then Collier's attack on sensational psychology in "A Thought" is not to be wondered at.

Collier was hardly superior to his age in some respects. There is no poetry in his prose as there is often in Bacon's prose. He shrank in scorn from atheism, but he used a very materialistic weapon to fight materialism. In the spirit of a prose age Locke had written, "The great and chief end of men uniting in commonwealths . . . is the preservation of their property." There is no mystic sanction from above in this explanation of the formation of society. But Collier is continually trying to use this prejudice of property as a means of keeping men's minds stayed in religion.

Infidelity sweeps away all Distinction, and is the best Leveller in Nature; for what Pretence to Authority, unless 'tis given from above? Why should Matter and Motion insist upon Privilege? or one Clod of Atomes be kept under by another? Without Religion, Honesty and good Faith are a Jest, and all men may cheat and murther, and debauch, as often as they please. In short where there's no Conscience there can be no Law, and where there's no Law there can be no Property.4

With this sort of faith we would expect a severe philosophy of suffering, and a lukewarm sympathy with the unpropertied. Collier himself was no good-fellow sort of person. His life story shows he bore his cross. But his feeling is not ahead of his satisfied time.

For instance, 'tis natural to desire we could relieve Want and cure Diseases when we see People suffer: But possibly those we are thus willing to assist, may be punish'd for their Faults; and can't be reclaim'd any other way; and that their Rescue might prove their Ruine. It may be their Patience is exercised, and their Merit put to the Test; and then to take off the Hardship, is to lessen the Reward.

We may feel that Bacon's Utopia is more the result of scientific imagination than of an imaginative sympathy with his fellow man. But at least his imagination was at work. This important quality of his work seems to have had no effect on Collier. He makes no mention of the New Atlantis. Once he shows his awareness of the literary quarrel over the Ancients and Moderns.



^{4&}quot;A Moral Essay upon Authors."

^{5 &}quot;Of Power," p. 69.

I might give several other Instances, in which the later Ages have push'd their Conquest, and gain'd a greater Dominion over Nature than those before them. Not by the Strength of their Limbs, but their Invention. Not that they are born with more Wit than their Predecessors; but finding the World better furnish'd at their Coming into it, they have more Leisure for new Thoughts, more Light to direct them, and more Hints to work upon.⁶

But nowhere is Collier aware of his world consciously emancipating itself from any long difficulties. His essay "On Liberty" shows that he found no difficult theoretical problem in that direction. He knows that some men are returning in their minds, even in his age when democratic ideas were quite stilled, to the dreams of better organized society, but for Collier the way out of this concern is to drop the subject, not think it through. His spokesman in "Of Theft" replies to the friend who has recalled the communism of Plato and More and the Gospels,

Have a care of such reasoning as this, unless you have a mind to raise Jack Straw and Wat Tyler upon all the Quality and Estates of the Kingdom.

In the essay "Of Riches and Poverty" he again faces the problem of the distribution of the goods of life. Though Collier was anxious to keep life an heroic business and to keep the human will above the matter and motion explanation of current philosophy, he was frankly eudamonic in his own philosophy. His essay "On Pleasure" begins significantly.

That Pleasure, precisely consider'd, is an Advantage, must be granted by the most severe Philosophy: 'Tis the principal Intendment of Nature, and the solid Object of Inclination.

With this idea of life, it seems the mark of a hard age on him, when he can write of the distribution of the goods of life thus:

Philal. I grant, to feel the Extremity of Want, and be always under Discipline and Mortification, must be very uncomfortable: But then we are to consider that the World will either mend, or wear off; that the Discharge will come shortly, and the Hardship turn to Advantage; that the Contest is commendable to surrender. But the Poverty is sometimes more creditable than Riches, the as such 'tis never any Disgrace; yet must I needs say, it often lies under too much Neglect. 'Tis the Poor that provide the Necessaries, and maintain the Splendor of Life. 'Tis they that give Ease, Leisure and Observance to the Wealthy and make them relish their Circumstances. Now when they have worn up their Strength in drudging, and disabled themselves by their Industry, they should be cherish'd in their Declension, and invited to a comfortable Retreat. . . .

Heaven is used to bring justice into the equation:

When the Scene of Life is shut up, the Slave will be above his Master, if he has acted better.



^{6 &}quot;Of Power," p. 70.

^{7 &}quot;Of Envy."

All this matter is some way off from Bacon. There are but few who read Bacon to find in him a warm glow of human sympathy, or a daring spirit championing the new cause. But there was in Bacon the wide spirit of inquiry, and the enthusiasm for more and more knowledge that could be used to relieve man's estate. And for good or ill—the critics differ—it is fully agreed that Bacon's work sounded a note of scientific progress that was dimmed but never silenced. Jeremy Collier was a bold, independent, thoughtful man of the late seventeenth century. His annotations and his writing show that he had read the works of Bacon. As for his being influenced by Bacon, there seems but to say that he was not touched by the most significant moods or thoughts that Bacon stimulated. But by Bacon's conception of the essay form and his feeling for rich colour of phrase and economy of epithet Collier was moved to full admiration and we may almost safely say to discipleship.

SHAKESPEARE'S ALLUSIONS TO THE OLDER DRAMA

By KATHERINE HAYNES GATCH

Every biographer of Shakespeare, in his expansive moments, allows himself some fanciful excursion among the scenes of Shakespeare's boyhood, trusting to imagination's light where documents fail, to "the unguarded taper where the guarded faints." It has been pleasing to surmise that the boy journeyed to Coventry, and there, on a long June day, witnessed the Coventry cycle of mystery plays. With this premised journey in mind it is easy to conclude that Herod, raging "in the pageond and in the street also," made a lasting impression upon the boy. Indeed there are throughout Shakespeare's plays certain obvious allusions to the stock figures of the old religious and moral plays which require little glossing for the person who knows anything at all about the early English drama; and by the same token, the very obviousness of the allusions, they must have been as vivid as any figures of speech which he could have chosen. It follows that there must be other allusions, veiled from us by time, which enriched his imagery for his contemporaries.

It may be worth while, before considering the allusions to the older drama which lie embedded in Shakespeare's imagery, to assemble the more explicit references. When these have been brought together it becomes clear that they are in no sense literary allusions but that they were intended to call up visual memories of the stage business of late cycle plays and moralities. The references are to those stock characters and devices which were popular in plays that Shakespeare's younger contemporaries might have seen. This reliance upon the memories of his audience is evident in all the passages to be discussed here, and it gives further warrant for the interpretation of some of the less obvious cases as allusions to dramatic practice.

It may be well to head the list of the easily recognizable allusions with the most obvious of all, Hamlet's phrase, "out-Heroding Herod." It has passed into the language as a synonym for ex-

aggerated acting, and it has the sound of being proverbial even then. The Herod of the Coventry Shearmen and Tailors' play seems to have been a notable representative of the type to which Hamlet alludes. He announces himself as "the myghttst conquerowre that ever walkid on ground," and sums up his prowess with this modest statement:

All the world from the north to the sowthe I ma them dystroic with won word of my mowthe.¹

Shakespeare may well have had this very play of the Slaughter of the Innocents in mind when he wrote certain lines in $Henry\ V$. The king threatens Harfleur in dire terms and says that if they do not surrender they will see their

Naked infants spitted upon pikes, Whiles the mad mothers with their howls confus'd Do break the clouds, as did the wives of Jewry At Herod's bloody-hunting slaughtermen.²

With such associations, the name of Herod became a symbol for any kind of monstrous wickedness. Good Mistress Page, shocked by Falstaff's amorous letter, exclaims,

What a Herod of Jewry is this! O wicked, wicked world!3

The fact that there are several references to Herod in Antony and Cleopatra might lead one to suppose that they constituted an attempt at local color for the first century B.C. Charmian talks about "a child... to whom Herod of Jewry may do homage," and reminding Cleopatra of the violence of her temper she says,

Herod of Jewry may not look upon you But when you are well pleased.⁵

However, had an English audience not had definite dramatic associations with Herod, Shakespeare would hardly have made these allusions to him.

References to the devil in Shakespeare's plays cannot always safely be said to call up the image of the stage-devil, since that gentleman's activities have always been picturesque in more arts than the histrionic merely. But in certain connections the devil's

¹ Adams, J. Q., Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas, p. 158, ll. 498-9.

² III, iii, 11.

³ Merry Wives of Windsor, II, i, 20.

⁴ I, ii, 28.

⁵ III, iii, 3.

name would not have failed to remind an audience of his well-worn stage tricks. In these cases the reminiscence is of the devil of the moralities, who was a grotesque and noisy coward and the object of many of the Vice's pranks, rather than of the devil in the mystery plays, who never quite lost his ability to inspire awe. The mystery devil's stage-business was more or less burlesqued in the decadent moralities.

Goodman Devil was a great old roarer. In Wisdom he makes his entrance shouting, "I roar." In the Harrowing of Hell scene of the Towneley cycle Belzebub says to his confrere,

Why roaris thou so Rybald? thou roarys!

and in York play on the same subject there is a similar line. So when the shrewd little luggage boy in *Henry V* describes Pistol as "this roaring devil i' the old play," he is referring to a character with a long and humorous stage history, but more specifically he is alluding to the devil of the late moralities. Pistol has just made his exit with the remark:

As I suck blood, I will some mercy show.

And the boy says contemptuously:

The empty vessel makes the greatest sound. Bardolph and Nym had ten times more valor than this roaring devil i' the old play, that every one may pare his nails with a wooden dagger.6

Judging from this and other references, the paring of the devil's nails with a wooden dagger was a service often performed for him by the Vice.

Of all the characters from the old plays, the Vice seems to have been most vividly remembered by Shakespeare and his contemporaries. It is significant that there are no explicit references to any of the personified abstractions who were the raison d'être of the moral play, whereas the reminiscences of the Vice are frequent and amusingly zestful in tone. The very spirit of the old Vice is re-incarnated in Feste, the clown of Twelfth Night, and in the scene where he torments the imprisoned Malvolio he is enacting a typical Vice-rôle. When he finally takes himself off, he goes saying—or singing:

I am gone sir,
And anon, sir
I'll be with you again

⁶ IV, iv, 75 ff.

In a trice, Like to the old Vice, Your need to sustain. Who with dagger of lath, In his rage and his wrath, Cries ah ha! to the devil: Like a mad lad, Pare thy nails dad, Adieu, goodman drivel.⁷

The editor of the *Variorum* thinks that the word "old" does not refer to the Vice of aforetimes but is the good-humored "old" and implies a sneaking regard. At least we may assume that Feste's allusion represents the affection with which the Elizabethans cherished the memory of the Vice by comparing this passage with the often-quoted description from Harsnett's *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures*... *Under Pretence of Casting out Devils* (1603).

And it was a pretty part in the old church plays, when the nimble Vice would skip up like a jack-on napes into the devil's neck and ride the devil a course, and belabor him with his wooden dagger, till he made him roar, whereat the people would laugh to see the devil so vice-haunted.

Although the old plays may have been considered popish, the Vice who had made such good sport was not soon forgotten. Ben Jonson explained to Drummond how he had drawn upon the older drama, and Drummond made this note:

According to the Commedia Vetus in England the Devill was brought in either with one Vice or another; the play done the Divel carried away the Vice.

Jonson likewise preserved the tradition of the Vice's nimbleness, for he uses Feste's phrase, "in a trice," to describe his motions. That his nimbleness was a tradition may be seen not only from the moralities themselves but from Heywood's stage direction in *The Play of Love*, "Here the Vice cometh in running."

The Vice's dagger of lath was traditional, too. When Falstaff is describing Justice Shallow as a youth at Clement's Inn, he recalls him as looking "like a man made after supper of a cheese paring." "And now," he says, "is this Vice's dagger become a Squire."

The mention of Falstaff in conjunction with the Vice brings us to the most significant of all of Shakespeare's allusions to that funmaker. When Falstaff threatens to beat Hal out of his kingdom

⁷ IV, ii.

⁸ Cushman, L. W., The Devil and the Vice, Halle, 1900, p. 69.

^{9 1} Henry IV, III, ii, 343.

with a dagger of lath¹⁰ there is an appropriateness in the image, for, as it has been pointed out, Falstaff is the Vice of the piece. This is no figurative manner of speaking. Shakespeare makes Hal call Falstaff the Vice in explicit terms. When the prince is impersonating his father, and is reviling the devil who haunts his son in the likeness of a fat old man, among other things he calls Falstaff. "that roasted Manningtree ox with the pudding in his belly, that reverend Vice, that grey iniquity, that father ruffian, that vanity in years." The phrases are all weighted with dramatic associations. "Vanity" recalls the abstractions of the moralities; "Iniquity" is the name of the Vice in King Darius and in Nice Wanton. Even the roasted Manningtree ox was probably associated in Shakespeare's mind with the business of moral plays, for at Manningtree the old plays were still being enacted. Chambers, in discussing the late survivals of the type, quotes Nashe, who talks, in The Choosing of Valentines, about

> A play of strange moralitie, Showen by bachelerie of Manningtree, Where-to the country franklins flock meale swarme.¹¹

(On Chaucer's authority we might assume that where franklins swarmed there would be a roasted ox.) Dekker in *The Seven Deadly Sins of London* (1607), mentions the old morals at Manningtree, and there are other references in Manningham's *Diary*, and in Heywood's *Apology for Actors* (1612).

The conception of Falstaff as the Vice affords one of the most readily acceptable explanations for his rejection. One does not need to be so profound as Professor Bradley to realize that the reformed hero was expected to turn away from the corrupters of his youth at the end of the play. The audience may have hated to part with the fun-maker but it knew better than to waste sympathy upon the un-moral Vice. The summary, given in Mr. Cushman's study, 12 of the characteristics of the Vice as demoralizer of men, will indicate how close Falstaff, without the Falstaffian personality, would come to that general conception:

The Vice appears as the embodiment of worldliness and sensuality, he is free from all restraints of religion and from all bonds of moral ideals. He is concerned only for one thing, that humanity shall give free rein to his inclinations, not however that a soul may be by this means ruined, but that man

¹⁰ Ibid., II, iv, 439 ff.

¹¹ Chambers, E. K., Mediaeval Stage, II, 343.

¹² Cushman, L. W., The Devil and the Vice, p. 91.

may be led to enjoy an existence of freedom and pleasure, the vicious ideal of happiness being in every sense the reverse of the spiritual.

There is one other Vice characteristic which Shakespeare's audience would have recognized in Falstaff. The Vice was not infrequently a braggart and a coward. In the *Interlude of The Four Elements*, the Vice, whose name is Sensual Appetite, has been telling a tale not unlike that of the buckram men, and he boasts,

Yea, I have slain them every man, Save them that ran away.

But when the truth is sifted it turns out that they have all run away, save one whose leg he had cut off. To point out a likeness of this sort is not to say that Shakespeare was making a consistent Vice-character of Falstaff. The genuine Vice was both nimble and incapable of affection!

If Falstaff, despite his physical ponderousness, represents the pleasanter side of the traditional Vice, Richard III, who is also explicitly likened to the Vice, represents his most sinister aspect. Irritated by the cleverness of one of the young princes, Richard says in a threatening aside,

So wise so young, they say, do never live long.13

His victim asks him what he is muttering and he replies,

I say without characters fame lives long.

Then in another aside Richard adds,

Thus like the formal Vice, Iniquity, I moralize two meanings in one word.

The trick of the Vice here referred to is a common one, but it was most often used for comic effect. The Vice would speak, as Richard does, in an aside of which only the last words were audible to the other person on the stage. Thus, in *The Trial of Treasure*, Lust is conversing with Lady Measure, and Inclination, the Vice, is listening.

Lust.... My lady is amorous and full of favor.

Inclination.... I may say that she hath an ill-favored savor.

Lust.... What sayest thou?

Inclination.....I may say she hath a loving and gentle behavior.

In fact, Richard's asides and his many soliloquies, in which he lays his plans and takes the audience into his confidence, are so reminis-

¹³ III, i, 82 ff.

cent of the Vice that the audience would have seen the resemblance without the explicit allusion. Even his deformity may be a possible point of similarity between Richard and the Vice, for the Vice in *Cambyses* is definitely stated to be deformed. In Queen Margaret's wish for his taking off, there is certainly more than a hint of the usual fate of the Vice. She exclaims,

Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar, saints pray To have him suddenly conveyed from hence.14

Richard's consistent malignancy most sharply differentiates him from the typical Vice. It is perhaps Autolycus rather than Richard or Falstaff who is most unmistakably the Vice's lineal descendant. Although in his case no allusion is made to the likeness, it is possible to parallel almost every one of his stage tricks in the older plays. Like many of the brotherhood he recounts his criminal experiences and his travels for the audience—but with infinitely more charm. His adeptness in appearing as country-man, as pedler, and as courtier to avoid the agents of the law and to pursue his own nefarious business is a little like that of Idleness in Wit and Wisdom, who appears as rat-catcher and as priest to deceive the constable. pedler's song is not unlike Nicol Newfangle's "Trim Merchandise" ditty in Like Will to Like. But when he cries, "Ah ha! what a fool Honesty is!" he definitely establishes himself as the Vice, whose function in the moralities had always been to make a fool of honesty, in whatever guise that quality appeared.

There are a few allusions to species of entertainment which seem to have been on the fringes of the religious and moral drama, namely, the puppet plays, into which the types then going out of fashion sometimes degenerated and devices such as the pageant of the Nine Worthies and the Whitsun Pastorals with their accompanying Morris Dances. Of these the puppet plays are least important. Autolycus, it will be remembered, among his various contrivances for an easy existence, had "compassed a motion of the Prodigal Son." The Prodigal Son theme is so perfectly adapted to morality treatment that, although there is only a fragment of a play on that subject extant in English, be can be reasonably sure that the puppet masters had taken over plays of the type represented by



¹⁴ IV, iv, 75-6.

¹⁵ The Prodigal Son, A Fragment of an Interlude, pr. c. 1530. Malone Society Collections, Pt. I, Vol. I.

this fragment. Three times the puppet device is alluded to metaphorically by Shakespeare. In *Timon of Athens* occurs the line,

To the dumbness of the gesture one might interpret.16

The derisive tone of the other instances indicates the low esteem in which such performances were held. One is Hamlet's insulting remark to Ophelia,

I could interpret between you and your love if I could see the puppets dallying.17 $\,$

Another is from Two Gentlemen of Verona:

O excellent motion! O exceeding puppet. Now will he interpret to her.18 And finally, there is Lear's bitter phrase, "play Vanity the puppet's part," with the specific mention of a morality character.

Although the play of the Nine Worthies is used in *Love's Labour's Lost* to satirize the pedantry and affectation characteristic of the back waters of the Renaissance, the device itself is older than the Renaissance. The Dublin Chain Book has a memorandum for 1498, after the entries for the regular Corpus Christi plays, which reads: "The Nine Worthies ridying worshupfully, with ther followers according." Ritson, commenting on the scene in *Love's Labour's Lost*, says:

This sort of procession was the usual recreation of our ancestors at Christmas, and other festive seasons. Such things, being plotted and composed by ignorant people, were seldom committed to writing, at least with the view of preservation, and are, of course, rarely discovered in the researches of even the most industrious antiquaries. And it is certain that nothing of the kind (except the speeches in this scene, which were intended to burlesque them) ever appeared in print. The curious reader will not, therefore, be displeased to see a genuine specimen of the poetry and manner of this rude and ancient drama from an original manuscript of Edward the Fourth's time (Mss. Tanner, 407).21

He then quotes in full the speeches which may be represented here by the couplets of the three worthies who also speak in Shakespeare's scene.

Ector de Troye. Thow Achylles in bataly me slow Of my wurthynes men speken I now.

¹⁶ I, i, 34.

¹⁷ III, ii, 236.

¹⁸ II, i, 195.

¹⁹ II, ii, 39.

²⁰ Chambers, E. K., Mediaeval Stage, II, 363.

²¹ Ritson, J., Remarks, Critical, and Illustrative, London, 1783.

Judas Macabeus.

Alisaunder.

Of my wurthyness 3yf 3e wyll wete Seke the byble for ther it is wrete. And in romaunce often am I leyt As conqueror gret thow I seyt.

Ritson's explanation seems quite satisfactory, and one needs only to add that possibly the charming notion of presenting Hercules in minority was suggested by the shifts to which strolling players were put by the smallness of their troupes.

The first allusion to the dramatic associations of Whitsuntide is. a little puzzling. It occurs in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, where Julia, in the disguise of a page, is talking with Silvia.

At Pentecost when all our pageants of delight were played Our youth got me to play the woman's part, And I was trimmed in Madam Julia's gown.... And at that time I made her weep agood, For I did play a lamentable part:

Madam, 'twas Ariadne passioning
For Theseus' perjury and unjust flight
Which I so lively acted with my tears.²²

What had Ariadne to do, one may ask, with the pageants of Pentecost? Did other classical personages than those among the Nine Worthies attach themselves to religious performances? Or is this just a fictitious bit of local color for Verona?

There is a more suggestive passage in *Henry V*. The dauphin, having been apprised of Henry's belligerent intentions toward France, says that the French need have no more fear than if they had heard that England were "busied with a Whitsun Morrisdance." And he continues,

For my good liege, she is so idly king'd, Her sceptre so fantastically borne By a vain, giddy, shallow, humorous youth, That fear attends her not.²³

Perhaps we are to understand that association with the Morris dance suggested a likeness between the vain, giddy, fantastic king of England and the silly King Alfred of the St. George play, to which the Morris dance often belonged.

The third reference is to Whitsun Pastorals. The scene is Perdita's sheep shearing. She is wearing for the occasion a costume designed by Florizel, and she has just presented flowers to herelderly guests with appropriate speeches. The whole thing seems:

²² IV, iv, 164.

²³ II, iv, 25 ff.

a little theatrical and unreal to her, and with a sudden revulsion of feeling she lapses again into the language of every day life, saying,

> Methinks I play as I have seen them do In Whitsun pastorals. Sure this robe of mine Does change my disposition.²⁴

Now the similarity of Perdita's flower speeches to Ophelia's, suggests the possibility that Ophelia's mad scene may have been all the more pathetic to Shakespeare's audience because they would have recognized in it an agonizing travesty of a gay scene from some such folk festival as Perdita alludes to.

That this last suggestion is no more than speculation is evident, but it leads to the consideration of the less explicit allusions, the reminiscences of older dramatic practice which were perhaps subconscious, or by frequent metaphorical use had passed into common speech. An instance of this sort has been brought to attention in the case of Hamlet's much discussed phrase, "Woo't drink up The recurrence of the word "eisel" in the Crucifixion scenes of all the cycles, as Mr. Tolman²⁵ has said, makes it seem highly probable that it passed into common speech through the influence of the mystery plays. Whether or not Shakespeare himself. or many people in his audience, would have made an immediate connection between Hamlet's suffering and that with which the bitter draught was associated is not the point in question here. At least this is an instance of an enriching of the Elizabethan vocabulary, possibly a contribution to the visual imagery of Shakespeare's contemporaries, from the diction and the stage business of the older For the purposes of this discussion a relationship of this sort is of more significance than a conscious borrowing of situation would be-provided even that the borrowing could be proved. In the case of such a similarity as has been said26 to exist between the scene of the wailing of the three queens in Richard III and the mourning of the three Marys in the cycle crucifixion scenes, there was not, strictly speaking, a literary borrowing, for there are no verbal similarities, and no fundamental likenesses in character or The suggestion, if Shakespeare took one, came from the

²⁴ Winter's Tale, IV, iv, 134 ff.

²⁵ Tolman, A. H., The Views About Hamlet and Other Essays, Boston, 1904, p. 191 ff.

²⁶ Royster, J. F., "Richard III, III, iv, 4, and the Three Marys of the Mediaeval Drama," M.L.N., V (1910), 173-4.

effectiveness of the stage business, for the wailing of the three women is the only thing which the two scenes have in common. It becomes increasingly clear, as one assembles Shakespeare's allusions to the older drama, that it was the visual memory of device and stage business which he shared with his audience. And if this fact serves to make source study more difficult, it may on the other hand, in a few instances, make his imagery easier to visualize.

To illustrate by a very palpable case, one might take the too well known passage from As You Like It:

And one man in his time plays many parts, His acts being seven ages.

This theatrical metaphor is plain enough and other Elizabethans than Shakespeare had used it. But perhaps in the audience there were people who remembered the old morality, *Mundus et Infans*, where, almost literally, the hero appears in seven stages between his birth and his death, beginning as Infans, and continuing as Wanton, Lust and Lyking, Manhood, Shame, and Age. So in other less obvious cases it may be possible to say that the allusion need not be explicit to carry weight.

Examples of this sort are to be found in connection with Herod and the other figures who are elsewhere mentioned more definitely. In *Measure for Measure* there occurs the line,

This would make mercy swear and play the tyrant.27

Douce was very probably right when he said: "Here seems to be a particular allusion to the character of Herod in the Mystery of *The Slaughter of the Innocents*." The character of Mercy too, one might add, had appeared on the stage.

Certain mentions of the devil suggest his principal office in the plays. Dromio speaks of "one that before the judgment carries poor souls to hell,"²⁹ and Olivia, twisting the idea to her own purpose, says to the supposed Caesario,

A fiend like thee might bear my soul to hell.30

Hotspur defied the king and refused to surrender his prisoners, saying,

²⁷ III, ii, 207.

²⁸ Douce, Francis, Illustrations of Shakespeare, London, 1807, I, 137.

²⁹ Comedy of Errors, IV, ii, 40.

³⁰ Twelfth Night, III, iv., 240.

An if the devil come and roar for them I will not send them,³¹

The reminiscence of the stage devil is even more evident in allusions to his appearance. Macbeth exclaims,

T'is the eye of childhood that fears a painted devil.32

And in King John there is a passage which indicates that Shake-speare may have had in mind the grimy faces of the damned souls, for whose blackening the Coventry records preserve the expense account.³³ Doubtless the devil was similarly made up.

Thou'rt damn'd as black—nay, nothing is so black; Thou art more deep damn'd than Prince Lucifer. There is not yet so ugly a fiend of hell As thou shalt be, if thou didst kill this child.34

Intimately associated with the devils, sometimes acting as their advance agents, were the Seven Deadly Sins. Often, as in the play of *Mary Magdalene*, they follow each other in rapid succession as the seducers of innocence. So when Cassio says, "It hath pleased the devil drunkenness to give place to the devil wrath," perhaps he is thinking of himself as the figure of frail humanity, in the moralities, who succumbed to one sin after the other.

There is one other possible echo of the devil's conduct in the mystery plays. It is amusing to find that in the York play of the Harrowing of Hell,³⁵ "the devil can cite scripture for his purpose." When he enters hell, Jesus is met by a very argumentative Satan who quotes the authority of Solomon and Job to prove that any one who enters there may never leave again. The Towneley play has an exactly parallel passage:³⁶

Salaman saide in his sawes, pat whoso enteres helle withynne, Shall neuer come oute, pus clerkis knawes, And perfore felowe, leue pi dynne. Job, pi seruante also, pus in his tyme gune telle, pat nowthir frende nor foo Shulde fynde reles in helle.³⁵

It may be a wild surmise to suppose that the allusion is conscious,

⁸¹ Henry IV, I, iii, 116.

³² II, ii, 55.

³³ See note in the Rolfe edition.

³⁴ IV, iii, 121.

³⁵ York Plays. Ed. L. T. Smith, Oxford, 1885. Play XXXVII, Il. 277 ff.

³⁶ Towneley Plays. E.E.T.S., E.S. 71. London, 1897. Play XXV, ll. 291 ff.

but here at least is a dramatic association which would help to explain how such a notion about the devil might have become popular, even proverbial.

The devil's name is linked with that of his natural opponent, the good angel, in *Measure for Measure*, in a passage where some slight obscurity may be clarified if the imagery is related to stage business. Angelo seems to be acknowledging the sin inherent in his nature, and he says:

... Blood thou art blood: Let's write good angel on the devil's horn, 'Tis not the devil's crest.³⁷

Most editors leave these lines with the statement that "good angel" is a play on Angelo's name; or it is sometimes paraphrased to mean, "Tho' we should write 'good angel' on the devil's horn, it does not change his nature; it is not his real crest." This explanation gives meaning to the lines, but they become more concrete, certainly, if it is remembered that in the presentation of moral plays the characters sometimes actually wore labels bearing their names. In Like Will to Like, "so for instance, there is this stage direction:

This name Lucifer must be written on his back and in his breast.

And in a Flemish morality the character who represents Perfect Faith, appears so labelled, to the great amusement of his wife.⁴⁰ Now it was also a favorite bit of business in the moralities for the evil characters to practice deception by changing their names. *Res Publica* furnishes good examples of the device. Perhaps at some time Shakespeare had seen, in accord with this convention, "good angel" actually written on the devil's horn.⁴¹

Shakespeare sometimes entertains the idea of angels, not unaware that the dramatic tradition, which Marlowe actually took over in *Dr. Faustus*, would make his image clear. We find such lines as



³⁷ II, iv, 15-17.

³⁸ See note in the Nelson edition.

³⁹ For discussion of this device and its relation to this play see, Cohen, G., Mystères et Moralités du Ms 617 de Chantilly, Paris, 1920, p. exiii, note 3. For a reflection of this morality device in the art of the period see the same author's discussion in his Histoire de la Mise en Scène, Paris, 1907, p. 125.

⁴⁰ Dodsley's Old English Plays (Ed. W. C. Hazlitt, 4th Edition), III, 310.

⁴¹ One of the pictures discovered on the walls of the Chapel of the Trinity, at Stratford-on-Avon, in 1804, was an allegorical painting in which angels and devils appear with inscriptions fastened upon them. One devil has a scroll attached to his horn and on it is written:

the following, which represent a dramatic conception at least as old as *The Castle of Perseverance* with its good and evil angels who plead with Man:

He that came behind you, sir, like an evil angel.42

(Of Falstaff)

You follow the young prince up and down, like his ill angel,43

and

There is a good angel about him, but the devil outbids him too.44 His virtues will plead like angels, trumpet tongued.45

The sight would make him do a desperate turn, Yea, curse his better angel from his side, And fall to reprobation.⁴⁶

And finally there is this passage from *The Comedy of Errors* which is full of suggestion:

Not that Adam that kept the paradise, but that Adam that keeps the prison; he that goes in the calf's skin that was killed for the Prodigal: he that came behind you, sir, like an evil angel, and bid you forsake your liberty.⁴⁷

The Vice as a concrete character is only once alluded to in a manner less explicit than those instances discussed above, and that is in the derisive epithet which Hamlet applies to Claudius. When he calls him "a vice of kings," it is possible that the phrase was meant to connote the ludicrousness and the unscrupulousness of the well-remembered trouble maker. But there are some allusions to "vice" as an abstract quality which may also possess dramatic associations, because personified vices of various sorts had helped to make up the dramatis personae of the moralities. When one remembers also that the evil characters were wont to change their

Nam etiam cetera tolle tibi Ecce pignus perditionis.

Iconographers say that allegorical paintings were influenced in details of this sort by the moralities. A copy of this painting is preserved in Thomas Fisher's Ancient Allegorical, Historical, and Legendary Paintings . . . Discovered in 1804, on the Walls of the Chapel of the Trinity . . . at Stratford-on-Avon. London, 1838. Painting XVIII.

⁴² Comedy of Errors, IV, iii, 20.

^{43 2} Henry IV, I, ii, 186.

⁴⁴ Ibid., II, iv, 36.

⁴⁵ Macbeth, I, vii, 19.

⁴⁶ Othello, V, ii, 206 ff.

⁴⁷ IV, iii, 15.

clothes as well as their names for the purpose of deception, certain seemingly abstract lines become concrete. For example,

There is no vice so simple but assumes some mark of virtue.48

And the phrase, "to apparel Vice like Virtues harbinger," takes on more vivid meaning in the light of an incident in *Horestes* where the Vice actually appears in the guise of a messenger from God. Indeed wherever one finds a personification of vice and virtue, or of any particular vices and virtues, it is well to ask if the poet's image may not owe something to the business of moral plays, where the cardinal virtues especially were familiar figures. With such an association, Queen Katherine's bitter reproof to the Cardinals who came to advise her is more than a mere play on words.

The more shame for ye! Holy men I thought ye Upon my soul, two reverend Cardinal virtues; But Cardinal sins and hollow hearts I fear ye.⁵⁰

And when the specific virtue is mentioned in the question,

Which is the wiser here, Justice or Iniquity ?51

the audience may have remembered not only the Vice, Iniquity, but also Justice, who had played an important rôle in the so-called Coventry Plays, where the "Debate of the Four Daughters of God" constituted a prologue to the Annunciation play. When Hamlet said,

In the fatness of these pursy times Virtue itself of vice must pardon beg,⁵²

the connotation for the original audience, who knew how virtue and vice appeared as personifications, would have been more concrete than it is for us.

To conclude these speculations about this type of imagery, mention should be made of some allusions to death as an "antic," which may derive ultimately from the mediaeval danse macabre. The Elizabethan meaning of the word "antic" or "antique" was "grotesque," but grotesques must often have taken the form of death's heads or figures of death, and these representations, in sculpture and in manuscript illuminations, were directly influenced, icono-

⁴⁸ Comedy of Errors, III, ii, 12.

⁴⁹ Merchant of Venice, III, ii, 81.

⁵⁰ Henry VIII, III, i, 103.

⁵¹ Measure for Measure, III, ii, 108.

⁵² III, iv, 54-5.

graphers tells us, by the old mimetic danse macabre. Certainly there was a frequent association of the "antic" with death in the minds of other poets as well as in the mind of Shakespeare. Donne, for instance, in the *Elegies*, says,

Name not these death's heads unto me For these not ancient but antique ne.

The idea of death as an antick definitely suggests the macabre in those melancholy metaphors in which Richard II indulges when he talks of the power that death exercises over kings.

> For within the hollow crown That rounds the mortal temples of a king Keeps death his court, and there the antick sits Scoffing his state and grinning at his pomp.⁵³

And in the elder Talbot's exclamation of grief over his dead son, the image suggested is definitely that of the *danse macabre* itself, the figure of death inexorably commanding mortals to follow him to the grave.

Thou antic death, which laughs't us here to scorn, Anon, from thy insulting tyranny, Coupled in bonds of perpetuity, Two Talbots, winged through the lither sky, In thy despite shall scape mortality.54

The Elizabethans seem to have been familiar with a dumb-show, to which there are contemporary allusions, and in which death and a fool were actors, their single struggle replacing the repeated summons to all classes of society, which had constituted the action of the mediaeval danse macabre. In this dumb-show the fool employed all his tricks to avoid death but finally ran into his clutches. With this performance in mind, one sees the meaning of certain lines of the Duke in Measure for Measure. He is apostrophizing life.

... Merely thou art death's fool; For him thou laborest by thy flight to shun, And yet run'st toward him still.56

Vetus Comedia, which even in Shakespeare's youth had gone into the country, furnished the poet with a few similes, in which, in-



⁵³ III, ii, 160.

^{54 1} Henry VI, IV, vii, 18.

 $^{^{55}}$ Douce, F., Illustrations of Shakespeare, II, 305; and Plate VI, 1 and 3. See also note to the Rolfe edition.

⁵⁶ III, i, 10.

cidentally, one may read the natural amusement of the sophisticated and conscious artist at the palpable-gross plays of another generation. As early as in *Love's Labour's Lost* he speaks of their arbitrarily symmetrical endings:

Our wooing doth not end like an old play, Jack hath not Jill.57

Edmund sardonically likens the collaboration of luck and his own machinations to an old play-ending. Seeing Edgar approach to walk into his trap he says,

And pat he comes like the catastrophe of the old comedy. My cue is villainous melancholy.⁵⁸

The stock figures of the old romantic comedy of the *Mucidorous* and *Clyomon and Clamydes* type are spoken of as if their names were meant to have humorous connotations. Hamlet, anticipating the coming of the players says:

He that plays the king shall be welcome; his majesty shall have tribute of me; the adventurous knight shall use his foil and target; the lover shall not sigh gratis; the humorous man shall end his part in peace; the clown shall make those laugh whose lungs are tickle o' the sere; and the lady shall say her mind freely, or the blank verse shall halt for it.⁵⁹

Bardolph is called "the Knight of the Burning Lamp"; Francis Flute inquires wistfully if Thisby may be a wandering knight; Bottom aspires to play the "condoling lover" in "either your straw colored beard, your orange-tawny beard, or your French or crown-colored beard, your perfect yellow." Bottom's admiration of "Ercles vein, a tyrant's vein, a part to tear a cat in," and Falstaff's talk of Cambyses' vein, indicate Shakespeare's feeling about that type of diction, although Hamlet's advice to the player may signify that the admiration of some actors for that sort of thing was not dead. If the remark "Let your clowns speak no more than is set down for them," is aimed at Kemp it is because Kemp was trying to perpetuate the tradition of the clowns of the past decades, Tarleton and Wilson, who were famed for their extemporal wit. And when Cleopatra, apprehensive of the laughter of Rome says,

... The quick comedians Extemporaally will stage us,60

⁵⁷ IV, ii, 766.

⁵⁸ King Lear, I, ii, 150.

⁵⁹ II, ii, 340 ff.

⁶⁰ V, ii, 217.

Shakespeare was doubtless thinking of the kind of performance traditionally ascribed to the Roman actor, Roscius, by analogy to whose extempore performances Tarleton had been called the Roscius of his age.

There are a few identifiable allusions to the plays of Shakespeare's immediate predecessors, Kyd, Marlowe, and Peele, all in the mood of hilarious travesty. Out of their high-sounding lines he concocted the Pistolese jargon. The upstart crow, from whom Greene would have defended the literati did indeed pluck a few of their feathers—but not to beautify himself. Much as he had learned from their true poetry, the treatment which he gives to their fustian indicates that Shakespeare and his audience thought of robustious heroics as having fallen into innocuous dessuetude, along with Herod and his scaffold high.

OVID'S CARMINA FURTIVA

By ROBERT S. RADFORD Kenyon College

at mihi iam puero caelestia sacra placebant, inque suum FURTIM Musa trahebat opus.

Ov. Trist. iv, 10, 19-20.

It is my purpose in the present paper to examine into certain important facts in the life of Ovid, which belong to the period between his birth in 43 B.C. and the issuance of the first edition of the *Amores* in five books. The publication of these famous elegies has usually been placed by the best authorities either in 15 B.C. (Masson), or in 14 B.C. (Teuffel-Schwabe, I, §248, 2; Heuwes). Masson's judgment has won almost universal acceptance, and is based upon the well-known reference, which is found in Am. i, 14, 45-49, to the war with the Sygambri, 16 B.C.:

nunc tibi captivos mittet Germania crines:
 culta triumphatae munere gentis eris.
o quam saepe comas aliquo mirante rubebis
 et dices 'empta nunc ego merce probor';
nescio quam pro me laudat nunc iste Sygambram.4

Mackail's statement is therefore quite accurate (*Lat. Lit.* 1898, p. 136): "Ovid did not begin to publish poetry very early... When he was about thirty, he published... a volume of amatory elegiacs, which was afterwards enlarged into the existing three books of the *Amores*." It is true that, in opposition to the general consensus of Ovidian scholars, a single writer, Professor H. Pohlenz, has maintained in a Göttingen dissertation of 1913 that the first

¹ Gruppe first maintained in 1838 that the Lygdamus elegies in the Tibullan corpus were a pseudonymous work of the youthful Ovid. I have just issued a complete study of two of these elegies (Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. LVII [1926], 149-180), and am about to publish the remaining four. I hold that Ovid is the author also of all the poems of the Vergilian Appendix, such as the Culex, Ciris, Aetna, Moretum, Copa, and Catalepton.

² In his Ovidii Vita, p. 62, which is reprinted in the fourth volume of Burman's edition.

³ De tempore quo Ov. Amores editi sint, Münster, 1883, pp. 16, 27.

⁴ This passage is heavily spondaic. In hexam it shows 8 S to 4 D, and in pentam. (inclusive of v. 50) 3 S to 4 D. V. 39 is SSSS! For a similar reference to the Sygambri, see Hor. C. iv, 2, 35 (published in 13 B.C.).

edition of the Amores appeared in 18 B.C.⁵ In order to reach this conclusion, Pohlenz finds it necessary, in a hasty statement of just three lines (op. cit., p. 9), to place the elegy containing the reference to the Sygambri (i, 14) in the second edition of the Amores (which, in the judgment of most scholars, was composed about 2 B.C.). This view, though improbable in the extreme, may perhaps have seemed barely possible when the dissertation was first published in 1913. It must now be pronounced quite impossible on very many grounds. For in my "Juvenile Works of Ovid" published in 1920 (Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc., LI, 146), I was able for the first time clearly to distinguish the natural and spondaic onefourth of the Amores—in which the first edition is preserved—from the dactylic three-fourths which represent mainly the "artistic" second edition. The "Sygambrian" elegy (i, 14) exhibits a spondaic composition, and therefore belongs quite certainly to the first edition; see "Juvenile Works," p. 169. I may add further that the spondaic Corinna elegies of the first edition (i, 14; ii, 4. 8. 11. 12. 14; iii, 3. 14) are very far also from expressing the simpler feelings and judgments of early youth. The astonishing combination of brilliancy, audacity, flippancy, and cynicism which they so often display, is in large measure, as Pokrowskij (Philologus Suppl. XI [1909], p. 382) has so well pointed out, a result of the disappointments resulting from the poet's two unhappy marriages. A vein somewhat similar to Ovid's may be found in Byron's Don Juan, Manfred and Cain, but not in his youthful Hours of Idleness.6

Ovid was born on March 20, 43 B.C. He was brought to Rome by his father at an early age and placed in the schools of the grammarians (33 or 31 B.C.). Having completed his literary studies about 27 B.C., he at once entered the school of the rhetoricians (Masson, p. 43; De Mirmont, La jeunesse d'Ovide, pp. 64, 67). De Mirmont (p. 121) holds that, after two years of study—on reaching the age of eighteen or nineteen—he had completed the course and, since he did not aim at becoming an advocate, ceased to attend the classes in declamation. On the contrary, we think it quite pos-



⁵ De Ovidi carminibus amatoriis, p. 25. Besides Pohlenz' study there is also an extended article "Topics from the Life of Ovid," A. J. P., XLVI (1925), 1-28, by Professor A. L. Wheeler. This article professes to be based on Masson, but omits several of Masson's best features; it also neglects all dissertations and journal articles, including my "Juvenile Works of Ovid," published in 1920.

⁶ Compare also Milton's experience, and that of modern writers like Strindberg and Schnitzler.

sible that Ovid had precisely this aim, and that, like Asinius Pollio, like Seneca's son, Mela, and like Juvenal, he continued to declaim in the schools for some years. This at least is the impression which the Elder Seneca's account most naturally leaves upon the mind. According to his own account he filled the group of minor offices known as the "vigintisexvirate" twice, first by election as triumvir (Trist. iv, 10, 34), and afterwards by serving as decemvir stlit. iud. He was appointed triumvir (minor police magistrate) either at the age of twenty (Masson, p. 46), or at least before the completion of his twenty-third year (Wheeler, op. cit., p. 14). His investiture with the decemvirate is expressly mentioned Fast. iv, 386 f., where a tribune of the soldiers, who occupies a front seat beside Ovid at the games, is represented as saying:

"hanc ego militia sedem, tu pace parasti, inter bis quinos usus honore viros."

Ovid therefore never filled the office of tribunus militum, which usually followed the decemvirate (Pauly-Wissowa, IV 2262), and which was probably already required by Augustus in 19 B.C. as preliminary to the quaestorship. He never engaged in actual warfare, yet we think it not improbable that, in the long years of preparation for a public career, he put forth some efforts to acquire as a tiro the rudiments of the military art. We do not find this view excluded by the statement found in *Trist*. iv, 1, 71-72:

aspera militiae iuvenis certamina fugi, nec nisi lusura movimus arma manu.

The information at our disposal is too meagre to enable us to determine just why, in the course of his twenty-fifth year (Mommsen, St.-R. I³ 573), Ovid was not elected quaestor at the recommendation of Augustus in the *comitia tributa* held at the end of July, 19 B.C. The poet himself in the *Tristia* (iv, 10, 36 ff.) mentions his frail health and the natural indolence of his disposition as reasons for his withdrawal; but in a spondaic elegy, which was written only a few years after the event, his exclusion from the senate is apparently attributed to a lack of the requisite wealth (Am. iii, 8, 55):

curia pauperibus clausast; dat census honores.

In any case we know that the poet's paternal fortune was a very moderate one, (De Mirmont, p. 27), while the senatorial rank involved the heaviest and often the most ruinous expenses (Fried-

länder, Sittengesch. I 114). It is quite possible then that at the last moment his father, the thrifty Pelignian knight, agreed that Ovid himself should remain a knight and should follow a public career within the equestrian order. It is also possible that, in view of Ovid's deficiency in military attainments, Augustus intentionally omitted his name from the list of candidates for 19 B.C., but the poet still hoped to obtain the appointment at some later date.

We know that at some period of his life Ovid was a member of the important Centumviral court which tried testamentary causes (Pont. iii, 5, 23; Trist. ii, 94), and he was of course from time to time appointed by the praetor an arbitrator in private actions (Trist. ii, 96). As we have seen above (p. 47), he filled for one year the post of decemvir (Fast. iv, 384), which entitled him to preside over the Centumviral court. We are wholly unable to determine whether he held these judicial posts shortly after the triumvirate, or some years later upon his return in 16 B.C. from Asia and Sicily. In any case he made considerable proficiency in the studies of the legal profession, and speaks with evident pride of the satisfaction which he had given to the litigants who appeared before him (Trist. ii, 93-96). Némethy and some others even explain v. 93 here as meaning that he held the very important office of index in the quaestiones perpetuae (index quaestionis).

De Mirmont expresses the view (p. 202) that Ovid's knowledge of the Roman law was not profound. If he means by this to imply that Ovid's legal knowledge was small, we cannot agree with him. For, as has been shown by Pokrowskij,⁸ the Roman law plays a great rôle in Ovid's works, and in consequence of the frequent occurrence of legal phraseology and allusions, a distinct juristic atmosphere pervades many of his poems. Whether Ovid, however, ever practiced as an advocate (causidicus) or not, is uncertain.

⁷ Mommsen's objection (St.-R. I 504) to Ovid's twice holding the vigintisexvirate is trivial; see CIL. IX, 2845 (Dessau 915) and Herzog, Röm. Staatsverfassung II 856. Besides (bis) quinos is rare except in Ovid; (bis) denos is frequent everywhere. The double investiture is an evidence, however, that he hesitated and vacillated greatly.

⁸ Op. cit., 351-404. Pokrowskij devotes a very valuable section (pp. 393-404) to the "reflections in Ovid's writings of his official and judicial activity." See also Van Iddekinge, De insigni Ovidii peritia iuris Romani, Amsterdam, 1811; Schanz, Röm. Litt. II³ 1, p. 265; Owen, Tristia, lib. II, p. 140; Ganzenmüller, Nux, p. 63; Radford, A. J. P. XLIV 252. The incorrect statement of Teuffel-Schwabe (I §247, 2) about Ovid's "slight knowledge of the ius civile" is rightly omitted by Teuffel-Kroll. On references in Ovid to the "jurisconsult," see Am. i, 13, 19-22; A. A. i, 83-86. Arbitrium, a juristic word, occurs in the Roman poets as follows: 24 Ov., 2 T. A., 1 Aetn., 3 al. + 6 Hor.

Aldus Manutius and other early editors were mistaken in drawing an affirmative conclusion from Trist. ii, 93, while Masson (p. 60) and De Mirmont are too hasty in inferring from Am. i, 15, 1 ff. that Ovid never pleaded causes before the courts. The only legitimate inference, in my judgment, that can be drawn from this passage is that, at the time of the publication of the elegy (14 B.C.), the poet was no longer a student of the Roman law and had not recently spoken in the lawcourts. In any case, the early period of Ovid's life afforded him little opportunity for the development of poetry of the truly artistic kind. He was twice married during this period, and the obligations which he undertook through the marriage relation, made further demands upon his time. If he also found no opportunity to establish a close friendship with Tibullus (Trist. iv, 10, 51), this fact may well be due to the ill health of Tibullus and his retirement to the country,9 and it by no means follows that Ovid himself was absent from Rome.

Since we are about to consider Ovid's relations with his father and the latter's insistence upon a legal career for his son, it is important to determine whether the father remained at Sulmo throughout the early period or transferred his residence to Rome. Fortunately this question has been carefully discussed by De Mirmont (pp. 55, 126, 129), who reaches the following conclusions:

"It is probable that Ovid's father did not break with the hereditary traditions of the family, but—very much as Cicero's father—continued to live in retirement in the country. . . . We know from the son that the family was obliged to live in the Pelignian district in the strictest economy. To open an establishment in Rome would have been very expensive."

Many Roman poets, such as Catullus (c. 68, 15) and Propertius (iv, 1, 133), made their first attempts at poetry about the time of assuming the *toga virilis*. Ovid seems to have begun to compose verse at a still earlier age. Thus he illustrates well the truth of the saying that "the poet does but speak because he must; he sings but as the linnets sing," and Niebuhr correctly thought that "no



⁹ See Ullman in A. J. P., XXXIII (1912), 153.

¹⁰ Cf. Am. i, 3, 9 f.:

nec meus innumeris renovatur campus aratris, temperat et sumptus parcus uterque parens.

¹¹ See a long list of such poets in Friedländer, Sittengesch. II 380 (Eng. Trans., III 10).

one could possibly have a greater talent or a greater facility for writing poetry than Ovid." We are told by the Elder Seneca (Contr. ii, 10, 8) that his speeches in the rhetorical schools were simply poems in prose, and he himself states (Trist. iv, 10, 26) that whatever he tried to write was verse. In the Tristia he often tells us that nothing could keep him from writing in verse, even though, after composing them, he often burned his poems in the fire.¹² Finally during his exile he even wrote poems in the Getic language. Ovid's whole inclination then was towards poetry, but his father was a Roman of the older type, wholly interested in money-making and in the practical business of life (cf. Hor. Epist. ii, 1, 102). He considered poetry an entirely "worthless pursuit," and—like the fathers of Petrarch and of Sir Walter Scott-was resolved that his son should follow the more lucrative career of the law and perfect himself in forensic oratory. Finding his son interested in a literary career, he forbade him explicitly to write—much more to publish verse.13 Ovid himself acceded to his father's wishes, and promised his father that he would devote himself entirely to his legal studies. Under these conditions it is clear that the youthful Ovid's verses could only be written "claudestinely" and in secret. This is stated by the poet himself in very clear terms and not without a certain bitterness (Pokrowskij, op. cit. 385), as he recalls the days of his youth (*Trist.* iv, 10, 19-26):

at mihi iam puero caelestia sacra placebant, inque suum FURTIM Musa trahebat opus. saepe pater dixit 'studium quid inutile temptas? Maeonides nullas ipse reliquit opes.' motus eram dictis, totoque Helicone relicto scribere temptabam verba soluta modis. sponte sua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos, et, quod temptabam scribere, versus erat.¹⁴

There are evidently three principal statements that are made here: (1) Even in boyhood Ovid engaged in "furtive" or claudes-

¹⁴ I do not claim that *furtim*, if taken alone, would necessarily have the full meaning which I assign to it, but it is one of numerous signboards, all of which point in the same direction.



 $^{^{12}}$ E. g., Trist. v, 12, 59; see several similar passages in Ganzenmüller, Nux, p. 73.

 $^{^{13}}$ Petrarch's father threw his son's books of poetry and rhetoric upon the fire, though he allowed Vergil and Cicero, already half-burned, to be rescued. Somewhat similarly Villenave (Paris, 1809, p. ix) reproduces from an old Vita, which is probably without authority, the anecdote that Ovid, when once chastised by his father for composing verses, cried out in verse: Parce mihi: numquam versificabo, pater; see De Mirmont, p. 127.

tine writing of verse, although he knew his father disapproved of (2) When his father earnestly remonstrated with him. Ovid promised that he would entirely give up poetical composition. His father therefore was firm and unvielding, and it was Messalla apparently who finally broke the deadlock (Pont. ii, 3, 77). found that he could not carry out this promise, because verse came to him of its own accord and he "lisped in numbers." We may add fourthly that, after the assumption of the manly toga, no change of any kind took place in his tastes and inclinations. 15 Therefore so long as he pursued a legal and judicial career, he was at least prevented by his father's express prohibition from publishing any verse in his own name or becoming known to the larger public as a professional poet. On the other hand, in view of his father's continued residence at Sulmo, it is evident that he enjoyed in practice a very considerable freedom to do as he pleased. For he could not only attend the public recitations of poetry which were so common at Rome, but, in moments snatched from his legal studies and judicial duties, he could compose poems of his own and recite these to Messalla, to the members of Messalla's coterie, and to other friends and associates, many of whom were also poets. manner somewhat similar to Sir Walter Scott (or perhaps even to Grillparzer), he was able to lead a double life for many years, openly holding judicial office and following the profession of the law. but secretly and "stealthily" pursuing the calling of the poet. was not able, however, to follow the natural and normal example of his friend Propertius, and to publish a book of elegies under his own name at the age of twenty-one or twenty-two. As De Mirmont has well pointed out (p. 125), with the single exception of Tibullus, Ovid was of higher rank than any Roman who had as yet devoted himself exclusively to poetry, and his father, the practical and hard-headed provincial knight, was naturally desirous that his son should not decline in social status or throw away the opportunity of a distinguished public career merely for the sake of the literary fame which the true Roman had always held—as he thought—in deserved contempt. No doubt he would have heartily approved of Pope's well-known line in praise of the great English jurist (Lord Mansfield):

And many an Ovid was in Murray lost.

¹⁵ Trist, iv, 10, 30 et studium nobis, quod fuit ante, manet.

The early Renaissance scholars seem very often to show a better understanding of the situation than we find in some more recent writers. They usually follow very closely a *Vita* from a Farnese codex (Burman IV, p. 3), which, amidst much false and erroneous matter, may possibly—like the dubious *Vita* of Tibullus— contain one or two true statements derived from a partly good and partly bad source (such as Suetonius). After giving the name of the poet's brother as Lucius, this *Vita* continues:

Paternis stimulis foro aliquamdiu incubuit. unde plerumque iudicium dixerit inter centum viros, post parentis mortem ad poëticen integer rediit, scripsitque libros duos Heroidum Epistolarum. inde cum M. Varrone Asiam petiit. sub quo militavit, etc.

Here the statement about the "two books of Epistles" may possibly be correct. We know of course that Ovid's father lived to be ninety years of age (Trist. iv, 10, 77), and that Ovid published the first Amores and other works under his own name during his father's lifetime. It may, however, be true that he continued to perform some minor judicial functions during the greater part of his father's life and devoted himself "entirely" (integer) to poetry only during his father's old age.

We wish now to return to the passage of the *Tristia* and to discuss more fully the meaning of *furtim* in v. 20. The word is introduced unexpectedly, where we should have looked rather for *cupidum* or *crebro*, i.e., "The Muse was ever attracting me to do her work *eagerly*." Hence we are not surprised at Ribbeck's inexact paraphrase (*Röm. Dicht.* II 225),—"Ovid felt himself irresistibly (unwiderstehlich) drawn to poetry," and we actually find *cupido* used in a similar context in the *Ciris* (v. 93). The word *furtim* is usually translated here correctly, but its full meaning has escaped the notice of all the modern commentators, who pass it over in silence. Crispin, however, has a good note in the Delphin edition: "Quia arcana quadam voluntate pellectus contra patris sententiam Poeticae operam dabat." Pontano also (quoted in Delphin ed.)

¹⁶ Furtim is rendered by De Mirmont (p. 126) "secrètement," by the Crispin (Delphin) paraphrase "secreto," by Friedländer (Sittengesch. II 380) "verstohlen," and by Wheeler "stealthily." Church (Ovid, p. 5) says: "Ovid wrote verses "by stealth," just as (in Rob Roy) Frank Osbaldistone wrote them in the counting-house at Bordeaux." The word, which is never used in a similar context by any other classical poet, means "secretly," yet not in the sense in which a poet may speak of a tree growing "secretly," i.e., slowly, unobserved. Hence furtim here is incorrectly translated by Riley (Bohn Library) "imperceptibly," by Schanz (II 1, 265) "unversehens," and by Emanuel Sincerum (1731) "unvermerkt."

comments as follows: "Quia pater fieri me poetam nolebat: itaque eo inscio factitabam versiculos." The situation then-which I failed myself fully to understand in previous articles (e.g., A. J. P., XLIV, 17)—is quite clear. Ovid's father compelled him to study the law; he in turn deceived his father by composing poems in secret, which, however, he feared to publish under his own name. 17 Publication under a fictitious name has of course been a frequent practise from the earliest dawn of literature down to the present time. Well-known classical examples are Xenophon's publication of the Anabasis at first under the name of Themistogenes of Syracuse and Aristophanes' production of the Banqueters, the Babylonians. and the Acharnians under the names of Philonides and Callistratus. Ovid's clandestine manner of publication continued to about the year 14 B.C. The only works of his subsequent to that date which have found their way into the "Vergilian Appendix" are the Elegies upon Maecenas (8 B.C.), of which the poet cannot have been especially proud, and the Priapea, which he had good reason for not wishing to publish under his own name.18 The earliest poems of Catullus, Propertius, Martial and Statius have all of them perished; the Culex of Vergil—if he ever wrote such a poem, which is wholly improbable—is lost; the bovish productions of Persius and Lucan were for a time preserved, but were subsequently either destroyed or lost.19 The juvenile poems of Ovid, however, together with much of his early but fairly mature and serious work, have been very largely preserved owing to the peculiar circumstances under which they were produced and given to the world. It is probable that many of the poems were first circulated privately, and it is evident that they were not published in collections bearing the names of Tibullus and Vergil until after the death of these poets in 19 B.C. In fact most of the pieces were clearly composed between 19 and 14 B.C.

We may add that the account which Ovid has given us in the *Tristia* of the early age at which he read some of his poems at public recitations, and of the immediate recognition which his talents won

¹⁷ Ovid joins furtim or furtis with decipere Rem. 212 and Met. xiii, 104.

¹⁸ Ovid continued to frequent the schools of declamation (p. 47); therefore De Mirmont is quite right in saying (p. 115) of the *Priapea* that declaimers like Mamercus Scaurus have known and cited poems of Ovid which are not included in the collected works.

¹⁹ The whole subject is well treated by Friedländer, Sittengesch. II, 380 (Eng. Trans., III, 10).

from his friends and poetical associates is undoubtedly true. Thus he writes (Trist. iv, 10, 55-60):

utque ego maiores, sic me coluere minores, notaque non tarde facta Thalia meast. carmina cum primum populo iuvenalia legi, barba resecta mihi bisve semelve fuit. moverat ingenium totam cantata per urbem nomine non vero dicta Corinna mihi.

We may compare, if we wish, the example of Schiller, who, at the age of eighteen, recited his drama, Die Räuber, surreptitiously to an admiring circle of schoolmates. Similarly Ovid "as an infant prodigy charmed the circle of Messalla by his poetic facility" (De Mirmont, p. 212), and I may add, also by his attractive, genial, and refined disposition (Sen. Contr. ii, 2, 8). For so bright a literary star as an Ovid or a Lucan, a Pope or a Schiller-joined with such remarkable precocity of genius—rises only once in a century, often only once in many centuries. Messalla loved to "speak aloud and recite" Ovid's brilliant verses (Trist. iv, 4, 30), and the youthful poet therefore knew (Paneg. 202) that his patron would recite aloud some of the verses written in his honor. No doubt a certain discretion was observed in the matter of poetical recitations, and widely extended popular fame could not be hoped for under the circumstances, but there must have been abundant opportunities for appearances before select circles, especially those consisting of the younger men, and the verdict of these circles of friends must have been highly favorable. Thus not only in the Lygdamus elegies (i, 8; iv, 43, 57) has the young poet already won great admiration. but in the Ciris—which was sent from Athens to Messalinus as a completed work in 18 B.C., but had been begun long before and elaborated through many "years of youth" (vss. 44-47)20—Ovid returns thanks for the "large rewards" of honor and praise which the Muses have already richly conferred upon him (vss. 92-100):

quare quae cantus meditanti mittere caecos magna mihi cupido tribuistis praemia, divae Pierides, . . . praecipue nostro nunc aspirate labori.²¹

²⁰ See Sillig's fine note, *Epimetrum*, p. 142, and Leo, *Hermes XXXVII* (1902), p. 47. It is probable therefore that Ovid's *Civis* had been previously recited in Rome, and it may well have led his friend Propertius to refer at some length to the story of Nisus and Scylla in his third book (iii, 19, 21-24), which was published in 22 or 21 B.C.

²¹ On the meaning of praemia, see Sillig ad loc. The meaning of 'cantus caecos' (Vollmer's reading) is probably 'songs that are uncertain, immature,

The Ciris also probably makes references to Ovid's legal studies and pursuits in vss. 5-6 (longe aliud studium)—provided the correct punctuation be introduced here, as in Vollmer's edition—and it contains the striking statement in vss. 19-20 that the poet "finds it possible only rarely to compose in elegiac verse" (quamvis interdum . . . liceat). Similar complaints of burdensome duties, of lack of leisure for writing and of inability to duly polish his verses meet us very definitely both in the earlier Panegyric and the Culex.²² It is quite evident that such statements correspond closely with the actual situation, and it was comparatively late in life that Ovid gained the otium, which was so dear to his heart and mind (Trist. iv, 10, 40), and which enabled him to develope the dactylic virtuosity and so many other elegant refinements.

We have cited above (p. 54) the reference which Ovid makes to his public recitations of verse as beginning shortly after the first "shaving of the beard." The passage has been much discussed and leads to no absolutely definite conclusion. It is generally agreed that the poet refers to the ceremony of the depositio barbae, which usually occurred between the twentieth and twenty-fifth year (De Mirmont, p. 224). I see no reason why Ovid should not be thinking here of the age of twenty-two or even of twenty.23 Finally it must be noted that Ovid does not tell us very clearly just what youthful poems he first recited. When he states (v. 60) that "Corinna had aroused his genius," he is evidently not to be taken too literally, since he tells us elsewhere that Corinna was only falsus amor, "imaginary amours," and most scholars hold today that she was not a real person, but one who existed only in the poet's fancy.24 It is evident therefore that he refers in vss. 59-60 only in a general way to his well-known rôle as an amatory poet and to the undoubted fact that there were erotic pieces among his earliest productions.

groping their way, anonymous''; the older reading c. certos, "clear, artistic songs," is much less well attested.

²² Pan. 182 languida non noster peragit labor otia, "toil with me leaves no leisure to be passed in indolence." Cf. Cul. 8-10 posterius graviore sono tibi Musa loquetur | nostra, dabunt cum securos mihi tempora fructus, | ut tibi digna tuo poliantur carmina sensu.

²³ Loers, Heuwes, and Owen prefer twenty, Masson (p. 54) twenty-one, Schanz twenty-two, De Mirmont twenty-four or twenty-five. If the name "Corinna" was actually used in the these poems, I should agree with De Mirmont; I no longer hold the view (Juvenile Works, p. 147) that Ovid is thinking of the age of sixteen or seventeen.

²⁴ Trist. ii, 340 et falso movi pectus amore meum; see Owen's note ad loc., also Schanz II³ 1, p. 273, and Rand, Ovid, p. 11.

The readers of the *Tristia* undoubtedly thought of the *Amores* as one of his earliest works, and he is naturally not at pains to correct this impression. It is quite possible indeed that some of the poems recited by Ovid in 20 B.C. later found their way into the first *Amores* of 15 B.C., but there is nothing that requires us to believe that he had already invented the imaginary "Corinna" at this early date. Much less are we called upon to assume that in 20 B.C. "Corinna" was the poet's only subject and that the fourteen spondaic elegies of our present *Amores* (*Juvenile Works*, p. 169) constitute the sole survival of Ovid's output during the thirteen years from 27 to 14 B.C. Cruttwell (*Rom. Lit.*, p. 306) well says: "Some of the *Amores* were perhaps the same poems which he recited as early as his twenty-second year." Riese also in his edition (Leipzig, 1871, p. vi), after quoting *Trist*. iv, 10, 59, aptly adds:

Ex quibus verbis cave ne hoc efficias, Amorum libros primos ab eo compositos esse; cum illud tantum dicere velit, gloriam se per eos primum sibi parasse.

In his received works Ovid gives us no information whatever respecting the exact time at which he studied at Athens (*Trist.* i, 2, 77) and travelled in Asia and Sicily (*Pont.* ii, 10, 21 ff.).²⁵ It is true that in a verse (*Fast.* vi, 417) which occurs several lines before Ovid's mention of his visit to the temple of Minerva at Ilion, he writes:

cetera iam pridem didici puerilibus annis

The true meaning of this passage, however, is that Ovid had learned the legend of the Palladium "in the days of his childhood" at school, and had afterwards, on coming to manhood, visited the temple of Minerva at Ilion in the hope of seeing the sacred image. We know that the age at which young Romans of noble family repaired to Athens for the purpose of completing their education varied greatly. Thus Horace was twenty-one when he was a student at Athens, Messalla and the younger Cicero were about twenty, while the elder Cicero did not visit Greece for the purpose of study until he was twenty-eight, and Propertius meditates (iii, 27) upon a journey to "learned Athens" for the study of philosophy and oratory when he is about twenty-seven. It is not surprising then

²⁵ See De Mirmont, p. 136; Wheeler, p. 20.

²⁶ See De Mirmont, p. 152; Masson (p. 45) mistakes the meaning of the passage in part.—The poet of the Aetna (vss. 590-593) is also very familiar with the Troad.

that previous writers, depending wholly upon conjecture, have assigned Ovid's sojourn at Athens to too early a period. Thus Masson, misled by the phrase which we have just discussed, placed it in 27 B.C., and De Mirmont (p. 138) and Wheeler assign it to 25 B.C. The proper date is determined by the Ciris, which was written at Athens in 18 B.C., just after the publication of the entire Aeneid, and just after Ovid had been disappointed in obtaining the quaestorship in the summer of 19 B.C. It does not follow in the least that at this time he had given up all intention of becoming a candidate for the office again after a short interval, but it is evident that he has persuaded his father—perhaps under the pretext of studying oratory—to allow him to travel for the time being in Greece and Asia. In the poem, however, we find its author quite carried away with the higher study of "glorious philosophy," while he gives expression to his keen disappointment by blaming the "fickle populace" for his recent political mishap (vss. 1-4):

> Etsi me vario iactatum laudis amore irritaque expertum fallacis praemia volgi Cecropius suavis expirans hortulus auras florentis viridi sophiae complectitur umbra.

The Ciris promises also (vss. 14-41) in the near future a lofty philosophical poem (the later Aetna), 27 which shall rival the great work of Lucretius. We are not surprised to find that Catal. V also —which is a Vergilian impersonation—evinces the same admiration for philosophy and the same depreciation of mythological poetry and of rhetoric. The poet who wrote it has evidently quite recently frequented the schools of the rhetoricians.—As regards the date of the various journeys, Ovid mentions together in one passage (Trist. i, 2, 77) his visit to Athens and his trip to Asia, while in another passage (Pont. ii, 10, 21) he closely connects his travels in Asia and Sicily. Hence although it is possible that he may have visited Athens on some separate occasion, it is most reasonable to assume, as is done by both Masson (p. 45) and De Mirmont (p. 151), that all his foreign travels were included in one long tour which lasted about two years. In Asia and Sicily he travelled, as he informs us (Pont. ii, 10, 21), in the suite of Macer, the epic poet, whom most scholars identify with Pompeius Macer, the son or



²⁷ Those who are familiar with the fifteenth book of the *Metamorphoses*, the *Fasti*, and the fragments of the *Phaenomena*, will not be surprised at Ovid's authorship of the *Aetna*.

grandson of the famous Theophanes of Mitylene.28 Pompeius Macer, who belonged to the equestrian rank, had been Augustus' procurator in Asia (Strabo XIII, p. 618 c), and had also been at one time in charge of the public libraries. De Mirmont (p. 159) holds that as Ovid's travelling companion he was interested in visiting the various places in Asia which were the scene of his own poem, the Antehomerica. This explanation is of course quite possible; but we should be inclined to hazard the conjecture that Macer may have held some official position first in Asia, and later in Sicily, and that Ovid may have joined him possibly as companion or secretary, with a view to acquiring business experience or even to pursuing the equestrian cursus honorum. The phrase which is employed by Ovid (res egisse simul, Pont. ii, 10, 41) is ambiguous; it may mean simply to "travel together," but it might also refer to "transacting the public business together." In our discussion of Ovid's travels. we have determined the true dates in the manner which we regard as correct, i.e., upon the basis of the additional information supplied by the Ciris, but we may point out also that it is probable from Ovid's own account in the Tristia (iv. 10, 32) that he was never separated from his elder brother during the latter's lifetime, and also that the visit to Ilion as a sacred site is much more likely to have been made by a Roman after the publication of the Aeneid than before.30

After spending nearly a year in Sicily (Pont. ii, 10, 29), Ovid returned to Rome about 16 B.C. His father was probably still desirous that his son should fit himself seriously for the management of the family estates and should continue to acquire business and legal experience. Furthermore he had evidently not entirely withdrawn his opposition to Ovid's poetical pursuits. For the Ciris and the Aetna were apparently both published anonymously, and the same is true of the Copa, which imitates the fourth book of Propertius and was therefore published shortly after 16 B.C.³¹ This last poem shows us also that Ovid still allowed himself in 16–15

²⁸ De Mirmont, p. 157; Schanz, II³ 1, pp. 362-363.—Whether Ovid's friend is also to be identified with the poet of the same name, who, towards the close of Tibullus' life (Tib. ii, 6), was setting out upon some foreign military expedition, we have no means of determining with certainty.

²⁹ Res age, Rem. 144, means "engage in some occupation."

³⁰ See examples cited by De Mirmont, p. 154, and Friedländer, Sittengesch. I 428 (E. T. I 347).

³¹ Cf. Buecheler, Rhein. Mus. XLV, 323, and Mras, Wien. Stud. XXIII, 266.

B.C., whenever he chose, the very free use of polysyllabic endings in the pentameter. It is quite possible also that Ovid may have held some judicial post, such as the decemvirate or the centum-virate, subsequent to his return to Rome. Even in the famous elegy, Am. i, 14, in which he glorifies the pursuit of poetry and devotes himself to the poet's calling, I myself find nothing which necessarily implies that he had entirely given up his judicial activities at that time; if he had done so, however, it is clear that he returned to judicial duties in the Centumviral court at a later time.³²

The "Corinna" elegies, which were published, as we have seen above (pp. 45 f.), about 14 B.C. and under Ovid's own name, first gained for the poet an assured place in the esteem of the larger Roman public. The immense favor with which they had been received at private recitations no doubt encouraged their author to break through the rule of anonymous or pseudonymous publication which he had hitherto observed. Messalla, the generous patron who first "induced him to commit his works to fame" (Pont. ii, 3, 77), may also have aided the poet with his advice, though we are unable to determine whether the words here used refer to the Amores or to the Lygdamus Elegies. In any case, the circumstances of Ovid's early life, as he himself relates them, were wholly unfavorable to the production of refined and artistic verse of the kind that we find in Heroides, I-XV and in the second Amores, and the hasty surmise that he wrote works so perfect in form in early youth and in the midst of the most burdensome practical duties, can meet only with contemptuous rejection.

³² Pont. iii, 5, 23: utque fui solitus, sedissem forsitan unus | de centum iudex in tua verba viris.

WORDSWORTH AND THOMAS TAYLOR

By Frederick E. Pierce Yale University

It is practically certain that Wordsworth began his ode on "Intimations of Immortality" in 1802.1 According to his own statement,1 "two years at least passed between the writing of the first four stanzas and the remaining part." It is clear, then, that from stanza v on, the poem was composed between 1804 and 1806, as in the fall of the latter year it was part of a volume ready for the press.2 A careful study of the early and late parts of the Ode shows certain differences between them. The first four stanzas mourn the loss of the mystic's power of vision, but they say nothing about the Neo-Platonic descent of the soul. Stanza v, in its opening line, begins a discussion of that famous doctrine, which forms the main thesis through the rest of the poem. That subject was an unusual one with Wordsworth, who frequently discussed mystical moods but not the mystical soul's journey, the elaborate system of Plotinus. The unusual subject might argue an unusual inspiration. It seems improbable that this could have come merely from Vaughan's "Silex Scintillans," an unquestioned source of the four earlier stanzas. Though Vaughan refers vaguely to the soul's descent, he develops no such elaborate system as Wordsworth. Neither does it seem probable that the impetus came from the poet's companions. Coleridge knew a good deal of Neo-Platonism. if Wordsworth had been destined to imbibe it from him, we should have expected this to happen before 1804, during those years when the two poets were in close communion. We should not expect Wordsworth to take fire from Coleridge's torch between January 1804 and August 1806, because during that whole period the two friends were separate, Coleridge going to Malta. Not only were the Wordsworths divided from him personally, they seem to have

¹ William Wordsworth, by G. M. Harper, N. Y.; Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1916, II, 122ff.

² The edition of 1807.

heard very little from him by letter.³ The search for the author's inspiration may reasonably be carried elsewhere.

In 1804 Thomas Taylor, the tireless reviver of mystic philosophies, published his Works of Plato.4 We have no definite evidence that Wordsworth read it; but we know that he owned an earlier work of Taylor's containing four Platonic dialogues and afterwards incorporated in the 1804 edition. In 1859 Wordsworth's library was sold, and the printed catalogue of the sale contains the following item: "408 The Cratylus, Phaedo, Parmenides, and Timaeus of Plato, from the Greek by Thomas Taylor, with Notes, etc., etc., 8 vo. 1793." It is highly possible, then, that the poet's interest in Plato and Taylor might have led to an interest in the later and larger work. The 1804 Works of Plato is a huge publication in five volumes, giving fifty-five dialogues in translation, and surrounding them with a vast mass of Neo-Platonic editorial comment, often in Taylor's words, often quoted from Proclus. From page to page it discusses the descent of the soul, the mystic properties of numbers, the glory of spirit, and the unreality of matter, till the reader begins doubting the existence of the chair he sits in. Wordsworth once explained to a friend the meaning of his line,

Fallings from us, vanishings.

"There was a time in my life," he said, "when I had to push against something that resisted, to be sure that there was anything outside of me. I was sure of my own mind; everything else fell away, and vanished into thought." The five volumes of Taylor, if the poet had read them, might easily have affected him that way. They have almost had such an effect on us.

There are a number of likenesses between Wordsworth's Ode and the *Works of Plato* which are worth considering. With the exception of two short speeches by Socrates, they are all from the editorial matter, which would not be duplicated in other editions of the dialogues.

In Taylor's Plato, I, 492,7 occurs the passage:

³ See Letters of the Wordsworth Family, edited by W. Knight. London: Ginn & Co., 1907, I, 175, 181, 196, 217, 248.

⁴ The Works of Plato, by Thomas Taylor, London, 1804.

⁵ Transactions of the Wordsworth Society, VI, 234. This entry was first called to my attention by my student, Mr. R. L. Purdy.

⁶ Transactions of the Wordsworth Society, II, 26.

⁷ Additional Notes on The First Alcibiades.

The descent of the soul into body separates it from divine souls, from whom it is filled with intelligence, power, and purity, and conjoins it with generation, and nature, and material things, from which it is filled with oblivion, wandering, and ignorance. For, in its descent, multiform lives and various vestments grow upon it, which draw it down into a mortal composition, and darken its vision of real being. It is requisite therefore that the soul which is about to be led properly from hence to that ever vigilant nature, should amputate those second and third powers which are suspended from its essence, in the same manner as weeds, stones, and shells, from the marine Glaucus; should restrain its externally proceeding impulses, and recollect true beings and a divine essence, from which it descended, and to which it is fit that the whole of our life should hasten.

Compare with this the latter part of Wordsworth's Ode:

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting: The soul that rises with us, our life's Star. Hath had elsewhere its setting, And cometh from afar . . Shades of the prison-house begin to close Upon the growing Boy Thou little Child, yet glorious in the might Of heaven-born freedom on thy being's height, Why with such earnest pains dost thou provoke The years to bring the inevitable yoke, Thus blindly with thy blessedness at strife? Full soon they Soul shall have her earthly freight, And custom lie upon thee with a weight, Heavy as frost, and deep almost as life, Not for these I raise The song of thanks and praise; But for those first affections, Those shadowy recollections Which, be they what they may, Are yet the fountain-light of all our day, Are yet a master-light of all our seeing.

There are other likenesses which are at least worth considering. In Taylor's *Works of Plato* (III, 103, note) the editor quotes Proclus regarding the reascent of the fallen soul. He says:

In the fourth place, therefore, we must hastily return to the great sea of the sciences, and there, by the assistance of dialectic, survey the divisions and compositions of these, and, in short, the variety of forms in the soul, and through this survey, unweaving our vital order, behold our dianoëtic power.

Wordsworth also, speaking of the reascent of the soul, says:

Hence in a season of calm weather,
Though inland far we be,
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
Which brought us hither,
Can in a moment travel thither,
And see the Children sport upon the shore,
And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore.

The last two lines of this passage also resemble another place in Taylor (III, 497 note): "The souls of men descending, and touching on the coast of generation, imitate the beneficent providence of the Gods." Also V, 714: "She [Latona] imparts likewise to souls the consummation of virtue, and an illumination which leads them back to the intellectual port of their father (Jupiter) hastily withdrawing them from the winding paths of matter, the entanglements of vice, and the roughness of the passage over the sea of generation."8

Wordsworth says that "those shadowy recollections"

Uphold us, cherish, and have power to make Our noisy years seem moments in the being Of the eternal Silence.

In the Works of Plato we read:

For if the human partakes of a divine intellect, and of all therefore which is of its essence; if truth has thus descended from Heaven into the souls of men, and Divinity himself be there, ready to communicate more and more the heartfelt knowledge of things divine and eternal to every soul which retires within itself; who would not wish thither to retire, and there, in that sacred silence, the silence of the passions, in that sacred solitude . . . to enjoy the presence and converse of the divinely solitary principle of things (V, 33).9

Hence he is Kogovous, as an immaterial and pure intellect, and as establish-

ing himself in the paternal silence (V, 677).

Heaven surveys things on high, viz. the supercelestial place, and such things as are comprehended in the god-nourished silence of the fathers (V, 681).

Plato now thinks Hesiod deserves to be mentioned, for passing by the

natures prior to Heaven, as being ineffable. For this also is indicated concerning them by the Oracles, which likewise add, 'they possess mystic silence' (V, 683).

The famous phrase,

Trailing clouds of glory do we come From God, who is our home,

probably alludes to the Neo-Platonic conception of divine illumination radiating from The One. Thus in the Works of Plato (IV, 579) we read (here in reference to the ascent of the soul through prayer): "So that in this case, we are no longer ourselves, but are absorbed, as it were, in the nature of the Gods; and residing in divine light, are entirely surrounded with its splendour."10

In stanza viii of Wordsworth's Ode occurs the passage:

On whom those truths do rest, Which we are toiling all our lives to find, In darkness lost, the darkness of the grave.

s"Generation" is used in Taylor with its regular Platonic (and Neo-Platonic) meaning, i.e., being born into the material world, putting on the garment of flesh. Hence Taylor's "sea of generation" is Wordsworth's "sea which brought us hither."

⁹ Introduction to The Meno.

¹⁰ Introduction to The Scond Alcibiades.

The last line obviously alludes to earthly life, not death in the com-In other words, the poet here definitely adopts the mon sense. Neo-Platonic theory that the real death, the real grave, is the union of the soul with the fleshy body. Thus, in the Works of Plato (IV, 410) Taylor translates a speech of Socrates in The Gorgias as follows: "Life is a grievous thing. . . . And we, perhaps, are in reality dead. For I have heard from one of the wise, that we are now dead; and that the body is our sepulchre." Also in V, 513,11 Taylor translates a speech of Socrates in The Cratylus thus: "Shall we speak concerning the body? . . . For, according to some, it is the sepulchre of the soul." In a footnote on the next page Taylor quotes the same thought in similar language from Heraclitus, Empedocles, Philolaus, and Pythagoras. in V, 686, we have a close parallel to Wordsworth's line: "They act with rectitude, and without merging themselves in the darkness of body."

In Works of Plato (II, 447)12 we read:

Earth then subsisting in this manner, she is said in the first place to be our nurse, as possessing in a certain respect a power equivalent to heaven; and because, as heaven comprehends divine animals, so earth appears to contain such as are earthly. And in the second place, as inspiring our life from her own proper life. For she not only yields us fruits, and nourishes our bodies through these, but she fills our souls with illuminations from her own divine soul, and through her intellect awakens ours from its oblivious sleep. And thus, through the whole of herself, she becomes the nurse of our whole composition.

The sixth stanza of Wordsworth's Ode sounds like an echo of this:

Earth fills her lap with pleasures of her own;
Yearnings she hath in her own natural kind.
And, even with something of a Mother's mind,
And no unworthy aim,
The homely Nurse doth all she can
To make her Foster-child, her Inmate Man,
Forget the glories he hath known,
And that imperial palace whence he came.

It seems unquestionable that Wordsworth's great Ode was a product of Neo-Platonic thought, that it must be interpreted as such. It seems probable, though perhaps not quite certain, that the Neo-Platonism came from Thomas Taylor.

¹¹ This passage and accompanying notes had appeared in Taylor's "Cratylus," etc., of Plato, published in 1793, a copy of which Wordsworth owned.

¹² Introduction to the "Timaeus." This had appeared earlier in the 1793 edition of "Cratylus," etc., owned by Wordsworth.

CASTIGLIONE'S INFLUENCE ON SPENSER'S EARLY HYMNS

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The influence of the Platonic Fourth Book of Baldessare Castiglione's Il Cortegiano on Spenser's Fowre Hymnes has been pointed out¹ but never seriously studied. Other Platonic writings of the Renaissance have had their champions as sources for the hymns, Ficino's Commentarium in Convivium and Bruno's De gl' Heroici Furori in Miss Winstanley,² Benivieni's Canzone d'Amore, in Professor J. B. Fletcher;³ but neither of these scholars has so much as mentioned Castiglione to whom Spenser owes a larger debt, line for line, than to either Ficino, Bruno, or Benivieni.

This omission appears all the more conspicuous when we consider that, a priori, the Courtier is the most likely source for Spenser's Renaissance Platonism. From the date of its publication at Venice in 1528, it was enormously popular in western Europe, and must have been readily accessible to Spenser, if not in one of the numerous Italian editions, at least in the English translation of Sir Thomas Hoby, which appeared in 1561.⁴ Twice, in his letters to Spenser, Harvey mentions "Castilio" as an author much read at Cambridge, where Spenser had been a student only a few years before. And for the Englishman of the sixteenth century, when Italian influences counted for so much, the book was not only the clearest mirror of the Renaissance ideal of the gentleman—and we may

¹ George Wyndham, Poems of Shakespeare, New York and Boston (n.d.), p. cxx; Walter Raleigh, The Book of the Courtier from the Italian of Count Baldessare Castiglione done into English by Sir Thomas Hoby, London, 1900, p. lxxvi; F. M. Padelford, "Spencer's Fowre Hymnes," J. E. G. P., XIII, 418-20.

² The Fowre Hymnes, ed. Lillian Winstanley, Cambridge, 1907, pp. lviii-lxxii; notes, passium.

^{3 &}quot;Benivieni's Ode of Love and Spenser's Fowre Hymnes," Mod. Phil., VIII, 545-60; "Spenser's Fowre Hymnes," P. M. L. A., XXVI, 466-75.

⁴ For a complete list of editions, see *The Book of the Courtier*, ed. L. E. Opdycke, New York, 1903, pp. 419-22. Fifty-five editions in Italian appeared before 1590, three of Hoby's translation, and a number of French, Spanish and Latin translations.

⁵ The Works of Gabriel Harvey, ed. A. B. Grosart, London, 1884, I, 69; 137.

recall that Spenser and Castiglione alike aimed "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline"—but it also contained the most eloquent utterance in Renaissance literature of the Platonic creed of love and beauty that so fascinated the mind of the age.

Castiglione enjoys a unique position among the Italian Platonists whom Spenser knew. He is much less a dialectician and much more a humanist than the others. Endowing his perfect courtier with a knowledge of the Platonic theories, and insisting that his life as a lover shall be guided by them, Castiglione gives a human and social application to the abstract and esoteric Neo-Platonism of Ficino and Benivieni. Where, in them, the Platonic theories are clouded with abstruse and difficult metaphysics, 6 he explains these theories in lucid and intelligible language; where, in them, the presence of the lady is only implied in the romantic love which must prepare the soul for its upward ascent to the vision of the Heavenly Beauty, he tells how the Platonic ascent has its human beginning in spiritual love, which arises when a man beholds the bright manifestation of the Heavenly Beauty in all the charms and graces of a chaste and intelligent woman. Spenser's hymns to Love and Beauty which reveal the lover not only as a philosopher on the quest of the Heavenly Beauty, but equally as a man sensitive to the beauty of women, are much closer in spirit to the humanized Platonism of Bembo's oration than to the dialectic of the other Italian Platonists.

Before presenting a detailed comparison of Spenser with Castiglione, a few remarks are in order:

First, I am confining my study to Spenser's early Hymn to Love (H.L.) and Hymn to Beauty (H.B.) because the late Hymn to Heavenly Love (H.H.L.) and Hymn to Heavenly Beauty (H.H.B.) contain a Christian Platonism essentially different from the Renaissance Platonism presented in the Courtier and in the early hymns; and although, in all probability, echoes of Bembo's loftiest utterances are present in the closing stanzas of the late hymns, the language there is also the common language of the literature of Christian mysticism, with some of which Spenser may well have been familiar.

Secondly, I shall not, in general, attempt to dispute the evidence

⁶ This applies, in modified degree, to Spenser's contemporary, Bruno, whose treatment of love though profound and beautiful, is filled with an elaborate symbolism which presents a sharp contrast to the clear and direct treatment of Castiglione. Bruno's influence on the hymns was, I believe, very slight.

brought forward by Miss Winstanley and Professor Fletcher to show Spenser's debt to Ficino, Bruno and Benivieni. For Spenser remembers more than one source in a host of passages in the early hymns, where it would be unsound to insist that he follows one to the exclusion of others. The doctrinal framework of his hymns he might have found in any of the Italian Platonists whom he knew. However, for the language in which he clothes the doctrine he is more, I may safely say, the debtor of the *Courtier* than of any other source.

Finally, I have compared Spenser both with the Italian and with Hoby's translation and am convinced that he had the English under his eye, or in his mind, when he wrote the hymns. Many phrases taken direct from Hoby he might have rendered differently had he been translating from the Italian. I shall, therefore, use Hoby for purposes of comparison.

I shall be clearer if I divide the detailed study of Spenser's debt to the *Courtier* into ten separate comparisons, the order of which preserves the order in which the passages quoted from Spenser occur in the hymns; with two exceptions (4 and 5), where it has seemed convenient to group together widely separated passages which are closely related in subject. The passages from Castiglione which I compare with those from *H.L.* are not, in general, in the order of their occurrence in the *Courtier*; for in writing the first hymn, Spenser ranged freely through Bembo's discourse, choosing such passages as suited his own argument. In *H.B.*, however, where the doctrines of beauty bear a close logical relation, he preserves the order of Bembo's argument almost without exception.

1. In the introductory stanzas to *H.L.* Spenser, like Bembo in the *Courtier*, speaks of Love's long dominion over him, of his desire to praise Love, and of his inability to do so without Love's aid:

Love, that long since hast to thy mighty powre Perforce subdude my poore captived hart, And, raging now therein with restless stowre, Doest tyrannize in everie weaker part; . . . I meane to sing the praises of thy name, . . . Onely I feare my wits enfeebled late, Through the sharpe sorrowes which thou hast me bred, Should faint, and words should faile me to relate The wondrous triumphs of thy great god-hed: But, if thou wouldst vouchsafe to overspred Me with the shadow of thy gentle wing, I should enabled be thy acts to sing. (H.L. 1 ff.)

⁷Cf. Benivieni, Canzone d'Ar : 1-10. Professor Fletcher has provided a text and translation of Benivian's poem, with parallels in Spenser's hymns, in Mod. Phil., VIII, 547-60.



And bicause I know my self unworthy to talke of the most holy misteries of love, I beseche him to lead my thought and my tunge so,8 that I may show this excelent Courtier how to love ... And even as from my childhode I have dedicated all my wholl lief unto him, so also now that my wordes may be answerable to the same intent, and to the prayse of him: I say therfore ... (Courtier, p. 352)

When Spenser tells how Love born of the Heavenly Venus and guided by her light, moves through the waste of Chaos, although drawing his ideas from Ficino⁹ and Benivieni, ¹⁰ he remembers Bembo's comparison of the lover ascending upward to behold the Heavenly Beauty to young birds learning to fly; he remembers also a passage near the close of Bembo's discourse:

> And, taking to him wings of his owne heate, Kindled at first from heavens life-giving fyre, He gan to move out of his idle seate; Weakely at first, but after with desyre Lifted aloft, he gan to mount up hyre, And, like fresh Eagle, make his hardie flight Through all that great wide wast, yet wanting light. Yet wanting light to guide his wandring way, His owne faire mother, for all creatures sake, Did lend him light from her owne goodly ray: (H.L. 64-73)

Wherefore suche as come to thys love, are lyke yonge Birdes almost flushe, whyche for all they flytter a little their tender wynges, yet dare they not stray

whyche for all they lighter a little their tender wynges, yet dare they not stray farr from the neste, nor commytt theym selves to the wynde and open weather. (Courtier, p. 359)

Therefore vouchsafe (Lorde) to harken to oure prayers, power thy selfe into oure hartes, and wyth the bryghtnesse of thy most holye fire lyghten oure darkenesse, and like a trustie guide in thys blynde mase, showe us the right waye: . . . (P. 362)

Spenser's description of spiritual beauty in H.L. is based on Plato's doctrine (Phaedrus 250) that beauty alone of the ideas shines out in the face or form, so that it may be seen clearly with the eye. Still, his radiant language owes something to the Courtier:

> Therefore in choice of love he [the lover] doth desyre That seemes on earth most heavenly to embrace, That same is Beautie, borne of heavenly race. For sure of all that in this mortall frame Contained is, noght more divine doth seeme, Or that resembleth more th' immortall flame Of heavenly light, then Beauties glorious beame. What wonder then, if with such rage extreme Fraile men, whose eyes seek heavenly things to see, At sight thereof so much enravish bee? (H.L. 110-19)

. . . if thei be inflamed with beawty, and to it bend their coveting guided by reasonable choise, they . . . possesse beawtye perfectly . . . (Courtier, p. 345)

I faine to tell the things that I behold, But feele my wits to faile, and tongue to fold. (6,7)

⁸ Cf. H. H. B.:

⁹ Commentarium in Convivium 3.2. See Winstanley, pp. lx-lxi; 45, 6.

¹⁰ 55-58. See Fletcher, p. 551.

But speakynge of the beawtie that we mean, that appeareth in bodies, and especially in the face of mann, and moveth thys ferrent covetinge which we call Love, we will terme it an influence of the heavenlie bountifulness, the whiche forall it stretcheth over all thynges that be created (like the light of the Sonn) . . . (P. 343).

I saye, that beawtie commeth of God . . . (P. 348).

- ... beautie is bodilesse and ... an heavenly shyning beame ... (P. 353).
- Both in H.L. and H.B., Spenser reechoes the doctrine, as old as Plato (Phaedrus 251), and common to chivalric and Petrarchan literature, that "fancy is engendered in the eyes with gazing fed." In the second hymn, hearing, as well as sight, is the servant of love. Yet so closely, in these passages, does he follow the language and images of the Courtier that no doubt can exist as to his immediate source. Here his debt is not only to Bembo's speech, but also to a passage in the Third Book where the doctrine of the eyes and the heart is explained at some length:
 - (a) Which [Beauty's appeal to the sight] well perceiving, that imperious boy Doth therwith tip his sharp empoisned darts, Which, glancing through the eyes with countenance coy Rest not till they have pierst the trembling harts, And kindled flame in all their inner parts, Which sucks the blood, and drinketh up the lyfe, Of carefull wretches with consuming griefe. (H.L. 120-26)

For those lively spirites that issue out at the eyes, bicause they are engendred nigh the hart, entring in like case into the eyes that they are leveled at, like a shaft to the pricke, naturally e perce to the hart, as to their restynge place and there are at truste with those other spirites: and with the moste subtill and fine nature of bloode whyche they carie with them, infect the bloode about the hart. these messangers kendle with the puffinge of desire the fire that so burneth, and never ceaseth consuminge, for alwayes they bringe some matter of hope to nourish it. (Courtier, 3, p. 278)

> For lovers eyes more sharply sighted bee (b) Than other mens, and in deare loves delight See more then any other eyes can see, Through mutuall receipt of beames bright, Which carrie privie message to the spright, And to their eyes that inmost faire display, As plaine as light discovers dawning day. Therein they see, through amorous eye-glaunces, Armies of Loves still flying too and fro, Which dart at them their little fierie launces; Whom having wounded, backe againe they go, Carrying compassion to their lovely foe; Who, seeing her faire eyes so sharpe effect, Cures all their sorrowes with one sweete aspect. (H. B. 231-45)

Therfore it may full well be said, that the eyes are a guide in love, especciallye if they have a good grace and sweetenesse in them . . . and so comely and percinge in beehouldinge, as some, in which a man thinketh verilie that the ways that give an issue to the spirites are so deepe, that by them he maye see as farr as the hart. The eyes therefore lye lurkinge like souldiers in warre lyinge in wayte in bushment, and if the fourme of all the bodye be welfavoured and of good proportion, it draweth unto it and allureth whoso beehouldeth it a farr of, until he come nigh: and as soone as he is at hande, the eyes shoote, and like sorcerers, beewitch, and especiallie whan by a right line they sende their glisteringe beames into the eyes of the wight beloved at the time whan they do the like, and in that sweete encounter the one taketh the others nature and qualitye: . . . (Courtier, 3, p. 278)

(c) In which [the "eye-glaunces"] how many wonders doe they reede

To their conceipt, that others never see!

Now of her smiles, with which their soules they feede,
Like Gods with Nectar in their bankets free;
Now of her lookes, which like to Cordials bee;
But when her words embassade forth she sends,
Lord, how sweete musicke that unto them lends!11

(H. B. 246-52)

Let him laye aside therefore the blinde judgemente of the sense, and injoye wyth his eyes the bryghtnesse, the comelynesse, the lovynge sparkles, laughters, gestures and all the other pleasant fournitours of beawty: especially with hearinge the sweetnesse of her voice, the tweablenesse of her woordes, the melodie of her singinge . . and so shall he with most deintie foode feede the soule through the meanes of these two senses . . . (Courtier, p. 353)

I may tell you, it is not a small token that a woman loveth, whan she giveth unto her lover her beawtye, which is so precious a matter: and by the wayes that be a passage to the soule (that is to say, the sight and the hearinge) sendeth the lookes of her eyes, the image of her countenance, and the voice of her woordes, that perce into the lovers hart, and give a witness of her love. (P. 354)

5. Twice in *H. L.* Spenser describes the sufferings of the lover. In these passages he owes far more in actual description to Castiglione than to Plato's *Phaedrus* or to Bruno's *De gl' Heroici Furori*, which have been suggested as sources. ¹² It should be said, however, that Bembo ascribes suffering in love to the sensual lover, whereas Spenser, like Plato and Bruno, ascribes it to the noble lover. ¹³

Thenceforth they playne, and make full piteous mone Unto the author of their balefull bane:
The daies they waste, the nights they grieve and grone,
Their lives they loath, and heavens light disdaine;
No light but that, whose lampe doth yet remaine
Fresh burning in the image of their eye,
They deigne to see, and seeing it still dye. (H.L. 127-33)

The feare whereof [of a rival], O how it doth torment His troubled mynd with more than hellish paine! And to his fayning fansie represent

Per divina bellezza indarno mira Chi gli occhi de costei già mai non vide, Come soavemente ella gli gira. Non sa come Amor sana e come ancide, Chi non sa come dolce ella sospira, E come dolce parla e dolce ride.

¹¹ Cf. Petrarch, Son. 126:

¹² See Winstanley, p. 47-8.

¹³ See 155-75.

Sights never seene, and thousand shadowes vaine, To breake his sleepe, and waste his ydle braine: Thou that hast never lov'd canst not beleeve Least part of th' evils which poore lovers greeve. The gnawing envie, the hart-fretting feare, The vaine surmizes, the distrustful showes, The false reports that flying tales doe beare, The fayned friends, the unassured foes, With thousands more then any tongue can tell, Doe make a lovers life a wretches hell. (H.L. 252-65)

...: for both in the beginninge and middle of this love, there is never other thinge felt, but afflictions, tourmentes, greefes, pining, travaile, so that to be wann, vexed with continuall teares, and sighes, to lyve with a discontented minde, to be alwaies dumbe, or to lament, to covet death, in conclusion to be most unlucky are the propreties which (they saye) beelong to lovers. (Courtier, pp. 344, 5)

... the continuall provocations of lovers, tokens, povertie, hope, deceites,

feare, and a thousande other matters. . . (P. 351)

All bitternesse and wretchednes that yong men feele (in a maner) continuallye, as jelousies, suspicions, disdeignes, angres, desperations and certein rages full of madnesse. . . (P. 357)

6. Spenser's compressed description in H. L. of the ascent of the soul by degrees towards the Heavenly Beauty¹⁴ is closely modeled on Castiglione:

Such is the powre of that sweet passion,
That it all sordid baseness doth expell,
And the refyned mynd doth newly fashion
Unto a fairer forme, which now doth dwell
In his high thought, that would it selfe excell,
Which he beholding still with constant sight,
Admires the mirrour of so heavenly light. (H.L. 190-96)

And beeside, through the vertue of imagination he shall facion within himself that beawty much more faire, then it is in deede. But emong these commodities the lover shall finde an other yet far greater, in case he will take this love for a stayer (as it were) to clime up to an other farr higher than it. (Courtier, p. 358)

14 According to the Renaissance Platonists the soul ascends to a vision of the Heavenly Beauty by six degrees. In the first, the lover beholds, then straightway loves a beautiful woman; in the second, he idealizes her beauty, his mind endowing it with a higher spiritual quality than it actually possesses; in the third, he further refines the particular beauty of his lady into a universal concept of the beauty that appears in all ladies; in the fourth, closing the eyes of the body and opening those of the soul, he contemplates the image of the pure Heavenly Beauty in his own mind; in the fifth, he rises from the image in his mind to behold the Heavenly Beauty itself; and in the sixth, his soul enters into mystic union with the Heavenly Beauty.

Spenser, in H. L., following Castiglione, carries the ascent to the second stage (the "fairer forme") and hints at the third ("that would itselfe excell"). For the first stage, see text above, 3. The "mirrour of so heavenly light" is the "fairer forme," the idealized beauty of the lady, which reflects

the Platonic Heavenly Beauty.

In H. B. (211-31) Spenser carries the ascent to the fourth stage. Here, too, he owes something to Castiglione, although his debt to Benivieni (see Fletcher, Mod. Phil., VIII, 558) is just as clear. The passage is too long to quote, but it may be compared with the passage from the Courtier quoted above and with what follows. (Pp. 358-9)

For the six degrees of the ascent, see Castiglione, pp. 356-63; Benivieni 91-

- 7. The theories of beauty which the Renaissance Platonists found partly in Plato,¹⁵ but chiefly in Plotinus,¹⁶ appear in the first half of Spenser's *H. B.* (29-161). These may conveniently be given a threefold division:
- (a) Earthly beauty is an emanation from the Heavenly Beauty and appears to a greater or less degree in all material things.
- (b) This beauty is the cause of love, and, as such, is distinct the beauty inherent in fair color and symmetry of parts; its essence is what the Italian Platonists call "grace," that spiritual beauty which participates in the divine idea of the Heavenly Beauty.
- (c) Spiritual beauty, which in man is the beauty of the soul, is the inward form which moulds the material substance of the body and makes it beautiful.

These ideas are common to all Renaissance Platonists whom Spenser knew.¹⁷ Yet here again, Spenser's exposition of them is closer in wording to Castiglione than to any of the others. In comparing Spenser with Castiglione, I shall follow the order of the doctrines given above:

(a) Thereof as every earthly thing partakes Or more or lesse, by influence divine, So it more faire accordingly it makes... For, through infusion of celestial powre, The duller earth it quickneth with delight, And life-full spirits privily doth powre Through all the parts. (H. B. 43 ff.)

And therefore is the outwarde beawtie a true signe of the inwarde goodnes, and in bodies [Castiglione means here all material things] thys comelynesse is imprinted more and lesse (as it were) for a marke of the soule. . . (Courtier, p. 348)

But speakynge of the beawtie that we meane. . . we will terme it an influence of the heavenlie bountifulness, the whiche for all it stretcheth over all thynges that be created (like the light of the Sonn). . . (P. 343)

(b) That is the thing which giveth pleasant grace
To all things faire, that kindleth lively fyre,
Light of thy lampe; which, shyning in the face
Thence to the soule darts amorous desyre,
And robs the harts of those which it admyre; . . .
How vainely then doe ydle wits invent,
That beautie is nought else but mixture made

^{144;} Pico della Mirandola's Commentary on Benivieni's Ode to Love (Opere di Girolamo Benivieni Fiorentino, Venice, 1522, pp. 64-5).

¹⁵ Phaedrus 250-56; cf. Symposium 210.

¹⁶ Tractate on Beauty, Ennead 1.6.1-5. Plotinus' discussion of beauty is of enormous importance to the study of Renaissance Platonism.

¹⁷ Benivieni 55-108 (see Fletcher, pp. 551-55); Ficino 2.5; 5.3; 5.6 (see Winstanley, pp. lxii-lxvi; 55-58); Bruno, p. 640; 643; 672 (*Li Opére Italiane de Giordano Bruno*, Gottinga, 1888; see Winstanley, pp. lxiii-lxv; 55-58).

Of colours faire, and goodly temp'rament
Of pure complexions, that shall quickly fade
And passe away, like to a sommers shade;
Or that it is but comely composition
Of parts well measurd, with meet disposition!
Hath white and red in it such wondrous powre,
That it can pierce through th' eyes unto the hart, . . .
Or can proportion of the outward part
Move such affection in the inward mynd,
That it can rob both sense, and reason blynd? . . .
But ah! believe me there is more then so,
That workes such wonders in the minds of men; Beautie is not, as fond men misdeeme,
An outward shew of things that onely seeme. (H.B. 57 ff.)

... yet whan it [the emanation of the Heavenly Beauty] findeth out a face well proportioned, and framed with a certain livelie agreement of severall colours, and set furth with lightes and shadowes, and with an orderly distance and limites of lines, thereinto it distilleth it self and appeareth most welfavoured, and decketh out and lyghtneth the subject where it shyneth with a marveylous grace . . . so that it draweth unto it mens eyes with pleasure, and percing through them imprinteth him selfe in the soule, and wyth an unwonted sweetenesse all to stirreth her and delyteth, and settynge her on fyre maketh her to covett him. Whan the soule then is taken wyth covetynge to enjoye thys beawtye as a good thynge, in case she suffre her selfe to be guyded with the judgement of sense, she falleth into most deep erroures, and judgeth the bodie in whyche Beawtye is descerned, to be the principal cause thereof: . . and therefore who so thynketh in possessynge the bodye to injoye beawtie, he is farr deceived, and is moved to it, not wyth true knowleage by the choise of reason, but wyth false opinyon by the longinge of sense. 16 (Courtier, pp. 343-4)

(c) Therefore where-ever that thou doest behold A comely corpse, with beautie faire endewed, Know this for certaine, that the same doth hold A beauteous soule, with faire conditions thewed, Fit to receive the seede of vertue strewed; For all that faire is, is by nature good; That is a signe to know the gentle blood.¹⁹ (H.B. 134-40)

Therof it comes that these faire soules, which have The most resemblance of that heavenly light, Frame to themselves most beautifull and brave Their fleshly bowre, most fit for their delight, And the grosse matter by a souveraine might Tempers so trim, that it may well be seene A pallace fit for such a virgin Queene. (120-26)

In conclusion this comelye and holye beawtie is a wondrous settinge out of everie thinge. And it may be said that Good and beawtifull be after a sort one

¹⁸ Spenser and Castiglione agree that spiritual beauty, "heavenly born" and shining in the face, is the true cause of love, and that bodily beauty (colors, symmetry, etc.) is not of the essence of true beauty. For Castiglione, however, bodily beauty provides a decorous frame for the grace of spiritual beauty, whereas Spenser, following the argument in Ficino 5.3 (see Winstanley, pp. lxi; 56), points the contrast more sharply than does Castiglione between the unreality of this kind of beauty and the reality and moving power of spiritual beauty.

¹⁹ I reverse the correct order of these stanzas to make the comparison with Castiglione easier to follow. I have quoted from Spenser's account of the soul as formal cause of the body's beauty only those stanzas in which he unquestionably follows Castiglione. The complete account extends from l. 106 to l. 147 and involves a wide use of sources. See note 18.

self thinge, especiallie in the bodies of men: of the beawtie wherof the nighest cause (I suppose) is the beawtie of the soule: the which as a partner of the right and heavenlye beawtie, maketh sightlye and beawtifull what ever she toucheth, and most of all, if the bodye, where she dwelleth, be not of so vile a matter, that she can not imprint in it her propertye.²⁰ Therefore Beawtie is the true monument and spoile of the victorye of the soule, whan she with heavenlye influence beareth rule over materiall and grosse nature, and with her light overcometh the darkness of the bodye.²¹ (Courtier, p. 350)

8. In his lines on the incorruptability of beauty even though the beautiful lady should be unchaste, Spenser has in mind Bembo's similar defense of beauty:

And oft it falles, (aye me, the more to rew!)
That goodly beauty, albe heavenly borne,
Is foule abused, and that celestiall hew,
Which doth the world with her delight adorne,
Made but the bait of sinne, and sinners scorne. . . .
Yet nathemore is that faire beauties blame,
But theirs that do abuse it unto ill:
Nothing so good, but that through guilty shame
May be corrupt, and wrested unto will.
Natheless the soule is faire and beauteous still,
However fleshes fault it filthy make;
For things immortall no corruption take. (H. B. 148-61)

Neyther yet ought beawtifull women to beare the blame of that hatred, mortalytie, and destruction, which the unbridled appetites of men are the cause of. I will not nowe denye, but it is possible to finde in the worlde beawtifull women unchast, yet not bicause beawtie²² inclineth them to unchast livinge, for it rather plucketh them from it, and leadeth them into the way of vertuous condicions, throughe the affinitie that beawtie hath with goodnesse: but otherwhile... the continuall provocations of lovers... overcome the steadfastnesse, yea of beawtifull and good women. (Courtier, pp. 350-1)

9. Bembo's advice to the courtier to love nobly, not sensually, Spenser addresses to all lovely ladies:

But ye, faire Dames! the worlds deare ornaments And lively images of heavens light, . . .

²⁰ The doctrine that bodily matter occasionally resists the formative influence of the soul, with the result that a beautiful soul dwells in an ugly body, occurs in H. B. 141-47. I refrain from quoting these lines because Spenser-follows the fuller explanation of Ficino 6.6. See Winstanley, p. 58.

²¹ With Spenser and Castiglione cf. the same idea in Shelley's Sensitive Plant, Part 2, 5-8:

A lady, the wonder of her kind Whose form was upborne by a lovely mind Which, dilating, had moulded her mien and motion Like a sea-flower unfolded beneath the ocean.

In Adonais (stanza 43) Shelley extends this conception to include the whole of nature.

²² It must be remember that, by "beawtie," Castiglione means spiritual beauty, or the beauty of the soul, which is of divine origin and incorruptible (see text above, 3, b, c). Consequently, when he says that beauty is not the source of evil, he means that the soul is not the source of evil. Spenser catches his true meaning when he writes that, although beauty is abused (i.e. through bodily sin), nevertheless the soul remains uncontaminated.

Loath that foule blot, that hellish fierbrand, Disloiall lust faire beauties foulest blame, That base affections, which your eares would bland Commend to you by loves abused name, But is indeede the bondslave of defame; Which will the garland of your glorie marre, And quench the light of your bright shyning starre. But gentle love, that loiall is and trew, Will more illumine your resplendent ray. (H. B. 162-77)

... he ought ... to fense the fortresse of his hart ... against sense and appetites, that they may entre neyther with force nor subtill practise ... to shown thoroughlye all filthinesse of commune love, and so entre into the holye way of love with the guide of reason, and first consider that the body, where that beawtye shyneth, is not the fountaine frome whens beauty springeth, but rather because beautie is bodilesse and ... an heavenlie shyning beame, she loseth much of her honoure whan she is coopled with that vile subject and full of corruption. (Courtier, p. 353)

This detailed comparison provides a remarkably concrete example of Spenser's characteristic hospitality of mind to his reading. In no other single passage of his poetry comparable in length to the first two hymns does he so consistently follow the ideas, and, at the same time, echo the phrases of his original. Yet the extensiveness of his borrowing, not only from Castiglione, though Castiglione's contribution was the largest, but also from Plato and the Italian Platonists, does not make these hymns any the less an individual poetic achievement, so skillfully has Spenser combined what his various sources gave him; so remarkably has his artistic sense, his instinct for rhythm, for cadence, for the subtlest harmonies of language, triumphed over the mass of his borrowed material; so characteristic is the new vitality which he gives this material through his warm personal devotion to Platonism. Spenser appears as much at ease in philosophical poetry as when he chooses to teach not by precept but by example; and if the hymns to Love and Beauty are a concentrated expression of that philosophy which, more than any other, informs the whole of the Fairy Queen, they also provide a touchstone for his poetic method, which generally seems to consist in his appropriation of such philosophic or literary matter as suits the needs of his own temperament, and the recasting of this into a poetic form peculiarly his own.

The significance of Castiglione's Platonism, not only for the hymns, but probably, for Spenser's Platonism as a whole, is not difficult to explain. For Spenser found in Bembo's oration more than a dialectical enthusiasm for the Platonic Heavenly Beauty. What is more important for his poetry, he found also an enthusiasm and reverence for the beauty of woman as the brightest earthly

manifestation of this Beauty. By making the worship of woman's beauty and goodness an essential part of his courtier's development, Castiglione gives a human application, a concreteness, to the esoteric philosophy of Ficino and Benivieni; and in his delight in the external beauty of the world, that beauty which the eye perceives, as the vehicle of the higher Platonic Beauty, he gives to the Renaissance passion for physical beauty the sanction of a spiritual philosophy.

Such a sanction Spenser's mind required for his own life-long senitiveness to feminine beauty. His poetry reveals in him at once a characteristic Renaissance delight in external beauty, and a moral idealism which often causes him to distrust the senses as dangerous and likely to mislead the mind from a knowledge of spiritual reality. 'In the Platonic philosophy of love he found that the senses could be made the servants of the nobler reason; and in Castiglione, who directly applies this philosophy to man's love for the spiritual beauty in woman, he found the idealism of Plato's dialogues modernized to the taste of his age and to his own needs. The celestial loveliness of woman is for ever before Spenser's eyes. It is chiefly through her, the concrete image of the Heavenly Beauty, that his imagination makes Platonism into poetry. Even in the hymns to Love and Beauty, which are a remarkably complete compendium of Platonic doctrine, Spenser's Platonism walks the earth through his intense consciousness of beauty as a visible thing. Just here the contribution of Castiglione to the hymns is, perhaps, the most noteworthy, since Spenser expresses his delight in feminine beauty largely through the language and images which he borrows from the Courtier. -

If we turn to the Fairy Queen, it is entirely probable that Spenser remembers the Courtier when he describes the bright beauty, the "celestial hew" of his heroines. Particularly are passages in his description of Belphoebe's beauty—the fiery beames of her eyes, the heavenly music of her words²³—plainly reminiscent of Bembo's oration and of those lines in the Hymn to Beauty which tell of the fair display of beauty in the eyes and voice.

Furthermore, just as the discipline of spiritual love is essential to the complete development of Castiglione's Courtier, providing as it does an opportunity for devotion to an otherworldly ideal, so in the Fairy Queen spiritual love lies at the heart of Spenser's teaching

²³ F.Q., 2.3. 23-25.

concerning the virtuous and gentle life. Probably a realization that without some higher discipline, his ideal of the Renaissance gentleman as an individual containing in himself the perfection of outward accomplishment and inward wisdom, was fraught with dangerous implications of self-approbation, and consequently, of selfishness and worldly pre-occoupation, led Castiglione to close his book with the exalted Platonism of Bembo's discourse. Certainly the selfishness and sensuality in the life of his age, the lack of any genuine discipline of the spirit,24 account in large measure for Spenser's emphatic teaching throughout the Fairy Queen that spiritual love is the fountainhead of virtue and power. His knights who represent the virtues are all lovers of the Heavenly Beauty in their ladies. This beauty arouses and keeps steadfast in them a love which is always an essential condition of inner excellence and fruitful activity. Lovers and champions of woman in the mediaeval and chivalric sense, they are also, like Castiglione's courtier and gentleman, lovers of spiritual beauty in the distinctly Platonic and Renaissance sense. For them, exactly as for the courtier, spiritual love is a necessary rounding out of the experience of life.

²⁴ See Colin Clout's Come Home Again, 660 ff.

BRIEF ARTICLES AND NOTES

TWO NOTES ON THE GOTHIC TEXT

I

Gastojanaim, II Thessalonians iii, 2

"Jah ei uslausjaindau af gastojanaim jah ubilaim mannam"; "καὶ ἵνα ουεδῶμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ πονηοῶν ἀνθοώπων"; "that we may be delivered from unreasonable and evil men."

Streitberg's "comment" (Got. Bibel,² p. 409) upon the word gastojanaim of this passage—"unverständlich, wohl Überlieferungsfehler"—is undoubtedly correct. The attempt¹ to explain this form (*gastojans, nom. sing.) as an old strong past participle from the verb gastojan, condemn, is unsatisfactory from the viewpoint both of form and of meaning. The -j- in *ga-sto-j-ans is the characteristic suffix of the weak jan-verb—we should rather expect a form *ga-stauans² from a strong reduplicating verb *ga-stauan—and the sense of "condemned" (>"out of place">"unreasonable," etc.) is nowhere present in the Greek word ἄτοπος.

The supposition that gastojanaim is an old past participial form derived from the verb gastojan, "condemn," leaves out of account the fact that Wulfila generally strove to imitate the Greek compounds by corresponding Gothic formations. If we assume that the original Gothic word was a compound formed in imitation of the Greek ἀ-τόπων, we may infer that the Gothic compound contained the element -*stoj-. The -j- in -*stoj- could represent the adjectival suffix (ja-jo-stem) and the syllable -*sto-³ could mean "place"; adjective -*stoj- "in place" Greek -τόπων.

Evidently the scribe of Codex B mistook this element -*stoj- to be a derivative of the verb ga-stojan, "condemn," (as the ga- in

¹ Cf., e.g., S. Feist, Wtb. der got. Sprache, sub stojan: "ga-stojans part. prät. 'unpassend' (eig. 'verurteilt, gerichtet')." Von Grienberger, Untersuchungen zur got. Wortkunde, p. 198: "irregulär part. pf. pass. "gastojans statt "gastaui?s."

 $^{^2}$ Cf. intrusgans (intrusgips, U.) Rom. xi, 24, old past participle from intrusgan, originally a strong verb with j-suffix (cf. $bid\hbox{-} j\hbox{-} an)$ only in the present system.

³ Cf. Feist, Etym. Wtb. der got. Sprache, sub staua and Fick, Vgl. Etym. Wtb. der indo-germ. Sprachen, sub stôvô, p. 493.

ga-stojanaim shows) instead of a derivative of the root *stôu- in the older sense of "place."

If an adjectival form, e.g., *af-stojaim* dat. plur. (*af-stojis nom. sing.) "out of place">"not fitting">"hard to get along with" was used only here (for the Greek å-τόπων) but did not exist elsewhere in the Gothic language (because it was not a native Gothic compound) it is not difficult to understand how the scribe could confuse this word with a kindred verbal form from the same room (*stôu-).

The corrupted form gastojanaim, however, still remains unintelligible, whatever form we may postulate for the original Gothic word. Nevertheless, the assumption is not unwarranted that the original word contained the element -*stoj- in the sense of "in place." This at least would make the second element of the compound harmonize with Greek -τόπων.

Π

Usskarjan: Unskaus

Through the painstaking efforts of Wilhelm Braun it has now become definitely established that the Gothic verb translating the Greek verb νήφω "to be sober, alert," should not read usskawjan (U. and Cast.) but usskarjan; cf. usskarjaindau, II Tim. ii, 26, A and B; usskarjip, ICor. xv, 34A. The -r- in usskarjip is not so clear as in usskarjaindau but in view of the established reading usskarjaindau with -r- in both manuscripts (AB) there can no longer be any room for doubt as to the correctness of the reading usskarjip. The verb usskarjan is in both passages used in a figurative sense "to make sober, alert; to arouse," etc.

But this verbal form usskarjan is not consonant with the adjectival form unskaus which translates the same Greek verb $v\dot{\eta}\phi\omega$; cf. unskawai $sijaima=v\dot{\eta}\phi\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, I Thess. v, 8 B. We may, therefore, assume with Betge (Laut-und Formenlehre, p. 203) and

⁵ The Greek adjective ἄτοπος does not occur elsewhere in the original extant text from which the Gothic bible was translated. The Gothic word used to translate ἄτοπος may not, however, have been a hapax legomenon, for the Greek word occurs often in those parts of the Bible which have been lost in the Gothic translation; cf., e.g., Acts xxv, 5, ἄτοπον, "anything amiss"; Acts xxviii, 6, μηδὲν ἄτοπον, "nothing amiss"; similarly Luke xxiii, 41, οὐδὲν ἄτοπον.



⁴ For the Gothic prefix af in a negative or pejorative sense (=the Greek alpha privative) compare af-gups, af-gudei, Greek d- σ εβής, d- σ έβει α , German Ab-gott "false god, idol."

Braune (Literaturbl., p. 327, 1908) that the verb usskarjan is a scribal error for usskaujan. There is, however, no reason for changing with Betge (loc. cit.) and Streitberg (Got. Bibel,² voc. p. 160) the form of the adjective un-skawai to us-skawai, for, as Braune (loc. cit.) points out, the prefix us- is here used with a negative force equivalent to un-; cf. us-fairina: un-fairina. A form us-skaus, from which we assume the verb us-skaujan to be derived, could have existed alongside the form un-skaus.

Assuming the verbal forms usskarjaindau and usskarjib of the text to be scribal errors for usskaujaindau and usskaujib and that the verb usskaujan is derived from an adjective usskaus—unskaus, the question arises as to the literal meaning and the etymology of the adjective *skaus.

Braune (loc. cit.) gives the meaning of un-skaus: us-skaus as "nicht getrunken habend, nüchtern" and as a semantic parallel refers to the adjective laus-qiprs "nicht gegessen habend, nüchtern," lit. "with empty stomach."

Since it is impossible to connect the stem *skau- with any root denoting "to drink," the basic sense of unskaus could hardly have been "not having drunk," as Braune suggests. Later I shall try to show that the word unskaus could have meant "not having drunk," but as a derived sense.

According to the commonly accepted etymology⁶ Gothic skaus goes back to an IE. root *sku-:*skeu- "to behold, see" (cf. OE. scéawian, OHG. scouwôn, OS. skauwon); according to which usskaus (us- with positive force, cf. Germ. ur-, er-) means "seeing, alert, sober."

Since the prefix *us*- is here viewed as having a positive force, this etymology must be rejected as semantically unsound. However, as I shall later try to show, Gothic *skaus may be connected with the IE. root *sku- "to behold," but with a different semantic development.

Von Grienberger (Untersuchungen zur got. Wortkunde, p. 228) connects Gothic skaus with a IE. root *sku- "bedecken" (cf. OE. scûa, OHG. scuwo, OS. skio "cloud"), according to which Gothic

⁶ Cf. Fick, 4 p. 465, sub sku 1. schauen: "skava merkend. g. us-skavs besonnen, vorsichtig. Davon das Denom. us-skavjan besonnen, klug machen. Vgl. gr. -σχοος in θυο-σχόος Opfer kennend"; Feist, p. 298: us-skaus "vorsichtig, nüchtern." "Zu der u. skauns behandelten sippe gehörig; vgl. gr. θυο-σχόος "opferschauer." The adjective skauns Feist refers back to an IE. root *skeu- from which OE. scéawian, OHG. scouwôn, etc. are derived.

un-skaus: us-skaus means "unbenebelt, unclouded"> "nüchtern, sober."

Evidently because of the negative force of us- in us-skaus Braune (loc. cit.) denies the possibility of a connection between Gothic skaus and OHG. scouwôn, which is assumed by Fick-Feist (see footnote 6): "Mit ahd. scouwôn kann das Wort nichts zu tun haben." But is this so certain? I shall in the following attempt to show that it is possible to connect Gothic un-skaus: us-skaus "not having drunk" (Braune's definition of the literal meaning of this word) with OHG. scouwôn. The semantic development which I assume is different from that suggested by Fick-Feist, inasmuch as I consider (with Braune) the prefix us- here as having a negative force.

In Old Norse we have the adjective $sk\acute{a}r < PG$. * $ska\acute{u}$ -a-, which is evidently the direct descendant of Gothic *skaus; cf. Gothic *faus > ON. $f\acute{a}r$ ''few,'' Gothic naus > ON. $n\acute{a}r$ ''dead, corpse.'' ON. $sk\acute{a}r$ is used only in compounds, evidently in the sense of ''open''; cf. [opin]- $sk\acute{a}r$ ''made public,'' [her]- $sk\acute{a}r$ ''open to inroads.'' I believe Cleasby (Icelandic-English Dictionary) is right in referring this word back to Gothic us-skaus.

If we refer PG. *skau-a- back to an IE. root *sku- "to behold, see," then the basic sense of the ON. adjective skár could have been "to be seen">"public, open"; cf. Germ. zur Schau.

For the Gothic adjective *skaus the basic sense could have been 'seen to, looked after'>'rovided for'>in a particularized sense 'provided with drink or food, having drunk or eaten'; unskaus: us-skaus 'not having drunk or eaten, fasting'>'sober, alert,' etc.; verbal derivative us-skaujan 'to make sober, alert,' etc.

Semantically von Grienberger's etymology deserves precedence over this etymology. But then what is to be done with ON. $sk\acute{a}r$? Phonologically ON. $sk\acute{a}r$ can not, it seems to me, be separated from Gothic *skaus any more than can ON. $f\acute{a}r$ and $n\acute{a}r$ be separated from Gothic *faus (plur. fawai) and naus.

The meaning of ON. skár, as I have already shown, is consonant with a root *sku- "to behold" and should not, therefore, be separated from OHG. scouwôn. If ON. skár and Gothic *skaus belong together, then we may assume a semantic development for the Gothic word as follows: "seen to">"having drunk or eaten." I have assumed two successive semantic stages between the sense

"seen to" and the end result "having drunk or eaten," namely 1) "provided for" and 2) "provided with drink or food."

The English word "provided" (<Lat. -video "see")="seen to [before hand]" offers a parallel to the first transition (i.e., "seen to">"provided for") and a parallel to the second transition (i.e., "provided (for)">"provided with drink or food") may be seen in the Germ. verb geniessen "partake of [drink or food]." The semantic development of Gothic *skaus from "seen to" to "having drunk or eaten" does not, therefore, seem to me beyond the range of possibility and consequently it may be connected with OHG. scouwôn.

Whereas this etymology connects Gothic *skaus (<*skau-a-) not only with WGerm. *skau- (OE. scéawian, OHG. scouwôn, OS. skauwon) but also with ON. skár (<*skau-a-), it is semantically far less plausible than that offered by von Grienberger. But ON. skár can not be left out of account, and we may ask von Grienberger why this adjective should not be connected with Gothic *skaus.

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IEWES WERK

And over that a fyn hauberk,
Was all y-wroght of Iewes werk,
Ful strong it was of plate;
Chaucer, Tale of Sir Thopas, lines 152-154.

Skeat has the following note on this passage:

Jewes werk, Jew's work. Tyrwhitt imagined that Jew here means a magician, but there is not the least foundation for the idea. Mr. Jephson is equally at fault in connecting Jew with jewel, since the latter word is etymologically connected with joy. The phrase still remains unexplained. I suspect it means no more than wrought with rich or expensive work, such as Jews could best find the money for. It is notorious that they were the chief capitalists, and they must often have had to find money for paying armourers. Or, indeed, it may refer to damascened work; from the position of Damascus.

Skeat's note on this passage was written before the publication of the two most important works on Jewish history, *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, and the monumental *History of the Jews* by H. Graetz (6 volumes, Philadelphia 1891-1898). It will be interesting to see just what light these authorities throw on the phrase "Iewes werk."

An examination of the articles on Metals and Artisans in The Jewish Encyclopedia will show that from the earliest times down

to the Middle Ages there were Jews who had acquired skill as metal workers of all kinds.

"In Saul's time the Hebrews had armorers who were very unpopular with the Philistines (I Sam. xiii, 19, 20); and at the fall of Jerusalem smiths and locksmiths ('haras' and 'Masger'; II Kings xxiv, 10) are mentioned." "At the time of Bar Kokba there were many Jewish smiths, and on Sichnim metal-workers were especially numerous." (Graetz., Gesch. 3d Edition, iv, 136, 145). "The smelting of gold and silver is undoubtedly one of the oldest crafts known to man. The 'zoref' (Judges xvii, 4; Isa, xl, 19, xli, 7, xlvi, 6; Jer., x, 9, 14, li, 17, and elsewhere) or 'mezaref' (Mal., iii, 2-3), literally 'smelter,' is the goldsmith or silversmith. The 'haresh barzel' (iron-worker or smith, II Chron., xxiv, 12) is called in traditional literature 'nappah' (one who uses bellows) or 'pehami' (one who uses chareoal). Mention is also made of the 'trasi' (chaser or embosser)."

All of this may seem remote from our subject, but it is important to remember that skill in metal working dates from the beginning of Jewish history, and that this skill was not lost with the final dispersion of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem. In fact, there is an unbroken record of the development of this industry from the first century down to the fourteenth.

After the dispersion the Jews formed extensive settlements in Arabia in which the metal working industry reached a high state of perfection.⁴ Later the Jewish armorers followed Islam in its conquests along the Mediterranean, and wherever the Mohammedan power was established, we find Jewish armorers. One finds that Mohammed himself took an interest in Jewish armorers, and like Sir Thopas the Commander of the Faithful had armor which "was al y-wroht of Iewes werk."

Not far from Medina was a prosperous industrial suburb inhabited by the Bani Cainucaa, a Jewish tribe which excelled in the working of metals. A trifling pretext caused the Prophet to declare war against this tribe, and after a siege of fifteen days they surrendered. Muir in his *Life of Mahomet*, London, 1861, III, 137, says: "The spoil consisted mainly of armour and goldsmiths"

¹ Jewish Encyclopedia, VIII, 516.

² Ibid., VIII, 517.

³ Ibid., II, 152.

⁴ Ibid., II, 42.

tools, for that was the chief occupation of the tribe; they possessed no agricultural property, nor any fields. Mahomet took his choice of the arms,—three bows, three swords, and two coats of mail."

References might be multiplied of the Prophet's method of acquiring Jewish armor. His Arab biographer tells of one siege where the spoil gained from a Jewish tribe is reported as follows: "Of weapons there were surrendered 100 coats of mail, 400 swords, 1000 spears, 500 Arab bows and quivers." But Fate has its revenges. "When the Prophet died his cuirass was held by a Jew in pawn."

From this time on references to Jewish armorers are frequent. In the article "Africa" The Jewish Encyclopedia, I, 227, says: "Under the vivifying influence of Arabic culture the Jews awoke to a new life. . . . Leo Africanus (Africae Descriptio, Zurich, 1559), himself of Jewish birth, reports that in North Africa the Jews were the only masons, locksmiths, goldsmiths, metal-founders, potters, silk-weavers, painters and minters. (Kayserling. Zur. Gesch. der Juden in Morocco aus alter und neuer Zeit, in Monatsschrift, 1861, x, 401)."

Islam conquered Spain, and here too we find the Jewish artisan. No distinction was made between Moslem and Jewish workmen. because of the tolerant spirit of the rulers, and for this reason much of the product of the work of Jewish artisans passed as being of Saracen origin. Toledo, one of the great centers of the metal industry, had a large Jewish community. "The Toledo congregation at this time led the van; it numbered more than 12,000 Jews. . . . Among the Jews of Toledo there were wealthy and cultured men and brave warriors who were skilled in the use of weapons." "For there were among the Spanish Jews not merely capitalists, merchants, farmers, physicians, and men of learning, but also artisans, armor and metal workers of all kinds, at all events, no idlers who slept away their time." In his Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in Königreich Arragonien während des 13 und 14 Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1913, p. 168), Fritz Baer mentions that he has found records of Jewish smiths, potters, bookbinders and watchmakers.



⁵ J. Wellhausen, Muhammed in Medina das ist Valkidi's Kitab al Maghazi, Berlin, 1882, p. 278.

⁶D. S. Margoliouth, Mohammed and the Rise of Islam, New York, 1905, p. 189.

⁷ H. Graetz, History of the Jews, III, 384.

⁸ Ibid., IV, 353.

Nor was this true of Spain alone. "Among the Jews of Germany and France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are found masons, card-painters, armorers, stone-engravers, and even makers of mouse-traps."

At this point one must record regret that none of these authorities have given quotations from their sources. Contemporary evidence would be worth a great deal, but in the main we shall have to depend on the word of modern Jewish historians. Only one author has fortified his work with footnotes giving references to the original sources. This is Leopold Zunz (1794-1886), whom The Jewish Encyclopedia describes as the founder of the modern science of Judaism and the pioneer in the history of Jewish literature, religious poetry, and the ritual of the synagogue. This great scholar embodied the results of his investigations in medieval Jewish lore in a work entitled Zur Geschichte und Literatur, Berlin, 1845. He mentions (I, 173) the existence of Jewish artisans in the Middle Ages, and includes smiths in the list of the trades. He gives as his authorities: Meir Rothenb. R G A, 152, 887. Mordechai, Batva §605. Isserlein in Tenumat hadeschen 193, 194. Or Sarua bei R. Jona 58. 74. In an appendix (pp. 472 ff.) he mentions the private and the public libraries where he found these books.

An interesting bit of evidence as to the proficiency of Jewish metal workers is found in one non-Jewish source. When the edict for the expulsion of the Jews was made public in Sicily, the state counsellors sent a petition to King Ferdinand begging him to delay action, for said they: "Useful and important industries will cease or be impaired, those above all pertaining to the manufacture of iron, to which the Israelite artisans are accustomed by preference to devote themselves."

All of this evidence goes to show that the phrase "Iewes werk" may simply mean "Jews' work." This is the most natural explanation of the words, and it fits in perfectly with what we know of the history of Jewish artisans in the Middle Ages.

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⁹ Jewish Encyclopedia, II, 154.

¹⁰ Isidoro La Lumia, Studi di Storia Siciliana (Palermo, 1870), II, 39, quotes this document.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF DOROTHEA SCHLEGEL

Letters of Dorothea Schlegel, the daughter of Moses Mendelssohn, and the wife first of Simon Veit and then of Friedrich Schlegel, are not available in any great abundance. Aside from the largely inaccessible data noted in A. Klette's Verzeichnis der von A. W. Schlegel nachgelassenen Briefsammlung (Bonn, 1868) and in O. Fiebiger's more modern catalogue, we have the following: the material found in the collection of the letters of Dorothea's sisterin-law Caroline, first published by G. Waitz in 1871 and later in a new edition by Erich Schmidt; Dorothea's letters to A. W. Schlegel¹; those to the Paulus family²; those to Schleiermacher³; the miscellanea published by Wienecke⁴; and the collection of Dorothea's correspondence with her two sons and with a few friends, published by Raich.⁵

None of the letters which Raich offers are dated later than 1817, while Dorothea did not die until 1839. In fact, comparatively few Dorothea letters between 1817 and the time of her death have been published, though H. Finke is said to be preparing an edition of some of them.⁶ Her letter to Tieck of March 16, 1829, written shortly after her husband's death and found in Holtei's collection,⁷ is one of the exceptions.

It is for this reason that the following apparently unpublished letter, written in the hand of Dorothea, seems worthy of publication here. The present writer secured it recently in Europe, where it belonged to a private collection. It covers four pages of a small format of letter-paper, the edges of which are trimmed down rather unevenly.

The text of the letter is as follows:

Theuere Seele!

Von den Rötheln Ihrer Schwester Kinder habe ich ja kein Wort gewuszt! Das ist eine gar unerwartete Nachricht! Die guten Kinder, wie werden sie, getrennt von Mutter und Groszmutter sich grämen! Nächst mit ganz alten

¹ L. Geiger, Dichter und Frauen, Berlin, 1899.

² R. Unger, Berlin, 1913.

³ Mitteilungen aus dem Literatur-Archive in Berlin, N. F. 7, 1913.

⁴ Caroline und Dorothea Schlegel, Weimar, 1914.

⁵ J. M. Raich, Dorothea von Schlegel, geb. Mendelssohn und deren Söhne Johannes und Philipp Veit. Briefwechsel . . . hrsg. von J. M. Raich, 2 vols., Mainz, 1881.

⁶ See Walzel's Bibliographisches Nachwort to the fourth edition of Haym, p. 945.

⁷ Holtei, Briefe an Tieck, vol. 3, Breslau, 1864, pp. 347-351.

Leuten habe ich mit Niemand gröszeres Mitleiden als mit Kindern die leiden, und nicht fröhlich seyn können. Mich dünkt Fröhlichkeit ist ganz eigens der Kinder Erbtheil und Eigenthum; hat man erst Sorge, u. Leidenschaft, dann ist kein Raum mehr in der Seele für die liebe Fröhlichkeit! Gott sey Dank, dasz es gut geht mit den Rötheln, beys ist alles glücklich vorüber, die Kinder sehen noch etwas blasz aus, Benedetto trägt den Kopf noch etwas noch einer Seite, aber sie sind ganz gesund, nehmen wieder Unterricht, arbeiten, und singen und springen wie gewöhnlich, und dürften ganz gewisz sich schon heraus machen, wenn das Wetter günstiger wäre. Der arge Sturm hält das Frühjahr zurück, und uns in die Zimmer gebannt. Mit dem ersten milden, ruhigen Himmel denke ich doch aus zu fahren, u. wenn es dann die Rötheln erlauben dann besuche ich Sie gewisz. Alles was Sie denken dasz ich denke von Ihnen, und dasz Sie nicht an mich denken, und ich nicht an Sie daran ist kein Wahres Wort! Ich kenne Sie besser als Sie mir zutrauen. Ich freue mich auch dasz Sie und die liebe Familie beisammen sind, und eins das Andre tröstet und ermuntert in treuer Liebe! Glauben Sie mir, dasz es mich so freut als wäre ich mit bey Euch; ich bin es ja auch! Armes Hannehen der sie die Kirche verbieten! Gleich ist dies der erste Gedanke der Herrn Aerzte! Sie wissen nur von der Luft u s w zu reden, was darüber ist, davon wissen sie Nichts. Aber man musz gehorchen, der Arzt ist eine Obrigkeit.—Grüszen Sie mir ja die theure Johanna, auch Caroline und die Uebrigen tragen mir die besten Grüsze für Sie beyde auf. Gott mit Uns Theuerste! Keine Entfernung kann mein liebes Andenken schwächen.

Ihre

Dorothea S.

Gestern war das letzte Mal Kupferstich Schau für dieses Jahr.

There is no external evidence regarding the date of the document. The internal evidence, however, seems sufficient to enable us to determine its approximate date, or at least the period to which it belongs, with a fair degree of accuracy.

It will be noted in the first place that Dorothea signs her name "Dorothea S." This shows definitely that our letter must have been written after 1808. It is known that prior to 1799 she always called and signed herself "Brendel." In 1799 she adopted "Dorothea." The name of Veit, her first husband, who was a Jewish merchant and whom she had married in 1778, she continued to use regularly until 1808, although she left Veit before the end of the century to live with Friedrich Schlegel. In 1804 she was baptized as a Protestant. Not until 1808, when her marriage with Friedrich was "revalidated" at Cologne and they both embraced the Catholic faith, did she assume and use the name of "Dorothea Schlegel." In a sense therefore our histories of literature are guilty of an anachronism when they refer to her by that name during the days of Early Romanticism.

With her first husband Veit, Dorothea had four sons. Two of them, Jonas and Philipp, grew to manhood and became artists. They were both converted to Catholicism in 1810, two years after their

s "bey" is the last word on the first page. In turning to page 2 Dorothea apparently skipped a word. Doubtless we should read "bey uns."



mother, Jonas becoming Johannes and Philipp retaining his name. It is Philipp who, as will appear, concerns us here particularly. He was born at Berlin in 1793, and after his mother's desertion of Veit spent a part of his youth in Paris with her and Friedrich Then he became a student of art at Dresden. participating in the Wars of Liberation, he migrated to Rome in 1815, where he became affiliated with Cornelius, Overbeck and the German Romantic School of art. In 1820 he married Caroline Pulini and had several children with her. He became director of the Städelsches Kunstinstitut at Frankfurt on the Main in 1830. a position which he held until 1843, painting numerous portraits for churches and museums, and for the Frankfurt Römer. In 1830, about a year after Friedrich Schlegel's death, Dorothea left her home in Vienna and came to Frankfurt to make her home with Philipp and his family. She arrived there shortly before Philipp and remained until her death nine years later.

Further than this neither her life nor that of Philipp need concern us here. But the data which have been given serve to throw some light upon our letter.

Turning first to the post-script, we find a reference to a "Kup-ferstich-Schau"—undoubtedly an exhibition which was held annually under Philipp's supervision at the Städelsches Kunstinstitut. And in the body of the letter we find Benedetto, one of Philipp's children, and Caroline, his wife, referred to. There can hardly be any question, then, that the letter dates from the end of Dorothea's life, that is from the period between 1830 and 1839, and was written at Philipp's home in Frankfurt.

The identity of the addressee is not clear. The only clues which we have—the reference to "die theure Johanna," who is in all likelihood the sister of the person addressed; to "das arme Hannchen," probably one of the sister's children; and to these children in general—are not sufficient for purposes of positive identification. That she was some fairly close friend of Dorothea seems certain.

Apart from the interest of the letter as coming from the hand of so intriguing a personality as Dorothea was, the document is also deserving of note from another point of view. While we are accustomed to think of her usually as a young woman of rather loose habits, conventionally speaking, and as the model for the notorious *Lucinde*, but at the same time as an exceptionally talented and brilliant writer, the author of the novel *Florentin*, we see her

here in an entirely different light. She is now an aging widow and devoted grandmother, more concerned about the children, the measles and the weather than about the seductive problems which at one time agitated her youth.

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ATTEMPTS TO INTEREST GERMANY IN EARLY AMERICAN LITERATURE

After reading Peter S. Du Ponceau's Discourse on the Necessity and the Means of Making Our National Literature Independent of That of Great Britain¹ and failing to find mention of its contents in such studies as those of Professors Cairns, Goodnight, and Weber,² one is inclined to ask how important in securing a Continental hearing for early American literature Mr. Du Ponceau's 'conspiracy' really was.

The address mentioned is a reply to Thomas Hamilton's charge of complacent provincialism in his *Men and Manners of America*, which had appeared in 1833, and which was somewhat uncomplimentary to Philadelphia and to such organizations as the American Philosophical Society, of which Mr. Du Ponceau was president at the time of Hamilton's visit. Among other items of interest found in this discourse is the mention of two American magazines of which even the more specialized studies³ have taken no notice.

Because of the comparative rarity of this pamphlet an entire paragraph dealing with the period of about 1814-1818 is quoted. To secure her political independence of Great Britain, says Mr. Du Ponceau, America sought alliances abroad; to secure her mental independence the same course is to be pursued:

This idea is not new. It has already been acted upon, and is gradually producing its fruits. Finding at the close of the last war, that our weak efforts were derided by British critics, . . . it occurred to some patriotic gentlemen in Philadelphia and New York to seek literary friends on the continent of Europe. A conspiracy was formed that had ramifications in Boston and elsewhere, to

¹ Delivered before the Pennsylvania Library of Foreign Literature and Science, February 15, 1834. Published at Philadelphia, 1834.

² William B. Cairns: On the Development of American Literature from 1815 to 1833, with Especial Reference to Periodicals; University of Wisconsin Bulletin, "Philology and Literature" Series, Vol. 1, No. 1, Madison, 1901. Scott Holland Goodnight: German Literature in American Magazines Prior to 1846; same series, Vol. 4, No. 1. Paul C. Weber: America in Imaginative German Literature in the Nineteenth Century; New York, 1926.

³ Cf. for instance, Albert H. Smyth: The Philadelphia Magazines and Their Contributors, 1741-1850, Philadelphia, 1892.

carry that idea into effect. I had the honour to be a member of that conspiracy, which I call by that name, because it was carried on in secret, and was known only by its results. We began with Germany. Correspondences were opened with the literary characters of that land of genius and science. The works of our writers were sent to them, and theirs received in return. Two journals were established, one in English at New York, under the title of The German Correspondent, and another in German, at Philadelphia, under that of Views of America, (Amerikanische Ansichten.) The object of the former was to make German literature known to our countrymen, that of the latter to make our own known in Germany. At the same time there appeared at Leipzick another periodical publication entirely devoted to this country, and tending to the same end with the two others, entitled America described by herself, (Amerika dargestellt durch sich selbst.) These three periodicals lasted little more than one year; the last, however, was followed by another, entitled Atlantis, also published at Leipzick, by a gentleman who is now a respectable member of the medical profession of this city, (Dr. E. F. Rivinus) and went through two octavo volumes. Those works produced the desired effect. American productions were fairly reviewed and moderately criticised in the literary journals at Halle, Gettingen, Leipzick and other places, and even in Vienna. Several of them received the honour of a translation into the German language. About the same time when this conspiracy was formed, Harvard university sent some of her most promising pupils to complete their education in Germany, whence they returned fraught with knowledge, which enabled them to take their stations in the first ranks of our

Professor Cairns objects⁵ to Thomas Wentworth Higginson's statement (Atlantic Monthly, April 1897, page 496) to the effect that the Harvard students who went to Germany were responsible for "the current of thought which between 1816 and 1818 took our whole American educational system away from the English tradition, and substituted the German methods," saying that since "Ticknor and Everett went to Goettingen in 1815, Cogswell in 1816, Bancroft in 1818," and "None of them was back in this country before 1818... Mr. Higgenson's dates are too early, or his statement is far too inclusive." And Professor Goodnight says: "With 1817 a change is noticeable. Lengthy reviews of German works in the original, by scholarly Americans, begin to appear." He attributes this change, however, to the efforts of Ticknor and Everett.

In the light of Dunglison's Discourse in Commemoration of Peter S. Du Ponceau, and remembering that the conspiracy of these patriotic gentlemen of Philadelphia and New York, which at the close of the War of 1812 had ramifications in Boston and elsewhere, was carried on in secret and known only by its results, one wonders what really was transpiring in the studies and bookshops of Ger-

⁴ P. 24.

⁵ Devel. of Am. Lit., p. 21.

⁶ Germ. Lit. in Am. Mags., p. 33.

⁷ Philadelphia, 1844.

many and America even while Madame de Staël was sending her *De l'Allemagne* off to the printers and young George Ticknor was ransacking the libraries and shops of Cambridge and Boston for a German dictionary.

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CAESAR DID NEVER WRONG BUT WITH JUST CAUSE

Ben Jonson originated a long dispute with his claim that Shakespeare was writing nonsense when he had Julius Caesar retort,

Caesar did never wrong but with just cause.1

The line occurs in the folio and all subsequent copies,

Know Caesar doth not wrong, nor without cause Will he be satisfied.²

Consequently, every good edition of the play (cf. the *Variorum*, the *Arden*, and the *Yale*), in addition to implications regarding the text, carries some comment regarding the justification of,

'Caesar did never wrong but with just cause.

The defence of the poet against the critic's charge of foolishness has been adequate. The meaning of the line has been sufficiently interpreted, but it possesses additional justification in that it may easily have been a paraphrase of the fragment from Euripides which, according to Cicero in *De Officiis*, and Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, was constantly on the lips of the prospering Julius as he perceived his way clearer toward the actual kingship.

If wrong may e'er be right, for a throne's sake Were wrong most right.³

Or as rendered by P. Holland and printed in 1606,

For if thou must do wrong by breach Of laws, of right, and equity, 'Tis best thereby a crown to reach In all things else keep piety.4

Caesar, then, would do no wrong save for just cause, and that cause was the throne or the gratification of his desire for power.

⁴ Suetonius, *History of the Twelve Caesars*, translated by P. Holland, 1606. Edited by H. Freese, Dutton, N. Y., p. 23.



¹ Jonson, Discoveries, Bodley Head Quarto, p. 28.

² Julius Caesar, III, i, 46-7.

³ Suetonius, Loeb Library, p. 43.

The fact that the *Lives of the Caesars* was not Englished until 1606, plus the usual ascription of the play to 1599-1600, might indicate that Shakespeare had no knowledge of Suetonius' conception of Julius Caesar; but the point still remains that Jonson is guilty of a slip, and the line,

Caesar did never wrong but with just cause not only makes good sense, but becomes a positive aid in the portrayal of the man who gave it frequent utterance.

MARY PROESTLER

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BOOK REVIEWS

Chryséide et Arimand, Tragi-comédie de Jean Mairet (1625). Edition critique par Henry Carrington Lancaster. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1925.

Except for the part that he took in the Querelle du Cid, and his violent attacks upon Corneille, Mairet is remembered but little in our times; his fame has disappeared before the glory of Corneille. But Professor Lancaster wishes to restore to him some of the prestige that he enjoyed during his life. He sees in him one of the most remarkable tragic poets of the seventeenth century, who may have been a forerunner of Corneille and who, at any rate, appears as a link between Hardy, Théophile de Viau, Racan, and Corneille in the evolution of the Classical Theatre in France.

Mr. Lancaster choses to attribute entirely to Mairet the introduction into France of the rule of the three unities, which he stated in the preface of his Silvanire. Professor Lancaster seems to disregard the generally accepted fact of the part that Richelieu and Chapelain took in the introduction and enunciation of these rules which were to make the French theatre more perfect and less imaginative. It is undoubtedly true, however, that Mairet's Sophonisbe was the first French tragedy which exemplified the rule of the three unities.

A very interesting idea presented by Mr. Lancaster is the probable interinfluence of Mairet, Scudéry, and Corneille, which through literary rivalry caused Corneille to change from tragi-comedy to pure tragedy.

Mr. Lancaster's biography of Mairet is very complete and adds material to those of Bizos and of Dannheiser; he establishes the dates, so far uncertain, of the birth of Mairet and of his first plays, especially of *Chryséide et Arimand*, which was given to the Comedians before the summer fo 1625.

Professor Lancaster shows also how Mairet found the sources of his play in Books VII and VIII of L'Astrée, as to matter, and in Théophile's Pyrame, in Racan and in the lyrical poets of his time, as to form. In the text, which is accompanied by erudite critical notes, Mr. Lancaster traces the unacknowledged borrowings of Mairet from the works of his predecessors, du Ryer, Théophile, d'Urfé, and Hardy.

This play does not follow the rule of the three unities, but it has more unity in itself than the *Bergeries* or *Pyrame*, due to the central theme of the love of Chryséide and Arimand. It is also more skilful and more varied in style, and offers some attempt to depict psychological struggles. By its language it is a transitional play; in a very excellent linguistic study of the play, Mr. Lancaster shows the peculiarities of a language more modern than that of Hardy, less modern than that of Corneille; and he initiates us also, following Mahelot, into the details of the scenery and stage directions.

A. J. DICKMAN

University of Iowa

Deutsch-englisches Satzlexikon der allgemeinen und wirtschaftlichen Sprache, von Professor Dr. Heinrich Rabe. Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt Stuttgart, Berlin und Leipzig, 1924.

We all carry about with us a stock of questions craving answers. One of the queries which for some time had been nestling in my mind was this: What is, in Germany, the preferred gender of the new word Kino? To my disappointment, however, the word was not listed. But even if it had been, my specific question would still have gone unanswered, since, as I soon discovered, Professor Rabe does not undertake to designate either the genders or the plurals of nouns. The book gives Kinematograph: kinematograph, kinema, but that was not what I wanted. Although Kino is not included, I did find Kinodrama; but obviously, to fit the English term kinema playwright, given as its equivalent, the German word should read, not Kinodrama, but Kinodramatiker.

My second question was this: What are the best English equivalents of the verb (sich) einstellen and the corresponding substantive Einstellung in their very latest meanings? Again the volume failed me. The author might possibly hold that those two forms have not yet proved their right to be included as current coin in a German-English work of this nature. In that case I should feel constrained to reply that with very few of the newer German expressions does one meet more frequently in dignified, reputable German journals of today than with the favorite and, one feels, even somewhat overworked words (sich) einstellen and Einstellung. Indeed, a typical example I find in the very latest issue of the Deutsche Literaturzeitung which has just reached my desk; in his 4-column review of an American publication Professor Paul Kluckhohn employs the phrase allzu rationalistisch eingestellt.

In Rabe's bibliography I noted six American titles which, with one exception, represent governmental publications printed in Washington. This led me, naturally enough, to suppose and hope that the author had endeavored to include in his volume also American terms. Accordingly I turned, as a test, to Rangierlokomotive. This time I found my word, but the only English term given was shunting engine which is, I believe, current in England; our American designation for this useful type of locomotive is switch engine.

I next looked up the word Warenhaus. This, again, I found listed and after it general stores pl., a definition which, I confess, still puzzles me; there was added parenthetically (amerikanisch oft nur store sg.). No mention, however, of department store which, unless I am mistaken, is virtually the American equivalent of Warenhaus. Tietz and Wertheim of Berlin had each a large Warenhaus when I was in that city the last time.

The word Radio I failed to find in the volume.

The examples given under the heading Tag are fairly satisfactory, though they include nothing, I believe, that could not be found in older dictionaries of equal size. Several errors, however, have crept into the paragraph in question. Heute über acht Tagen should of course read Heute über acht Tage. In another phrase of the same section a strange confusion appears: Der Tag vor (nach) dem Ereignis: the day before (the eve) of the event. Obviously this should read: the day before (the eve of) the event; and for nach there needs to be supplied the extra phrase: the day after the event. Of the proverbial Rom wurde nicht an einem Tag erbaut, cited by Rabe, there are several

variant versions; which of these is the commonest I am not prepared to say, though the forms most familiar to me have in instead of an (einem Tage).

Having just read one of Wildenbruch's short stories, I tried to recall a good English word for the highly expressive term Schikane as used by soldiers. Not satisfied with the words which came to mind, I again consulted Rabe, but all I found was: chicane(ry); trickery, neither of which would, of course, do at all. Finally, after searching elsewhere, I came upon the expressions which I had temporarily forgotten: bullyism, hectoring, petty tyranny. And for schikanieren how sadly—I was almost tempted to say how amusingly—inadequate is Rabe's entry: to chicane; to vex.

This concluded my preliminary, random examination of the lexicon. From this point on I shall present my material in a more summary fashion. Moreover, I shall submit merely excerpts from my body of notes covering the first twenty-five pages of the volume.

Ich rate Ihnen daher, dass Sie Ihre Verbindung mit der erwähnten Gesellschaft abbrechen. My advice, then, is to sever your connection with the office referred to (p. 2). Why office? Why not rather: house, firm, or company? Abendschicht: the task commencing in the evening (p. 3). I should suggest for Abendschicht simply night shift.

Abfahrt am Montag und Donnerstag (in Ankündigungen). Sails on Monday and Tuesday (p. 3). Should read: Monday and Thursday (Donnerstag). A more usual wording, at any rate in American announcements, would be: Sailings on Monday(s) and Thursday(s).—Der Abfahrt des Schiffes steht nichts im Wege. There is no impediment to the ship's putting to sea (p. 3). To one to the manner born, this phrase, like many others in the book, seems an un-English turn of expression, stilted and artificial. The idea is: There is nothing to prevent the ship's sailing (or putting to sea).

Ihr Gesuch wurde leider abfällig beschieden. This should not be translated: I am sorry your request has been refused (p. 3) but rather: I am sorry (or I regret) to inform you that your request has been refused (or, more diplomatically, has not been granted).

Abfeilen: to cut off with the file (p. 3). Here again the author betrays his nationality, for his English has been tinged by such German phrases as (etwas) mit der Feile, der Säge, der Axt, dem Beile (entfernen). Instead of with the file the phrase should read with a file.

Die Pflanzer bezahlten für die Abfuhr des Materials. The planters paid to have taken the stuff away (p. 4). The English word order should be: to have the stuff taken away.

Die Abgabe der zugewiesenen Anteilscheine kann vom 15. d. M. ab stattfinden. The delivery of the allotted shares - - - - - may take place (one is somewhat tempted to add facetiously: or possibly it may not) from the 15th inst. (p. 4). What is meant is: The allotted shares - - - - will be ready for delivery by the 15th inst.

Einer Sache Geschmack abgewinnen: to get a taste for a thing (p. 6). Why not rather: to care for (or fancy) a thing, as, for example, in such an expression as, Ich konnte dem Roman (der Musik, dem Gemälde) keinen Geschmack abgewinnen: I did not care for the novel (the music, the painting)?

Ich werde Sie von Ihrer Wohnung abholen. I shall call on you (p. 8). We

say call for you. To call on signifies jemand einen kurzen Besuch machen. Ich werde ihn vom Theater abholen. I shall take him home from the theatre. Why home? The intention might be to take him to a hotel, a restaurant, a station or somewhere else.

Jemanden (better: jemand) abkanzeln: to reprimand a person from the pulpit (p. 8). In the most frequent use of abkanzeln in this day and generation the idea of a pulpit is wholly absent; consequently the phrase from the pulpit ought to be enclosed in parenthesis.

Wichtige Nachrichten zwingen mich meinen Aufenthalt abzukürzen. Important news force (read forces) me to shorten my stay (p. 9). News in this sense is, I believe, always singular.

Suchen Sie die Sache gütlich abzumachen. Try and settle the matter amicably (p. 11). Preferable: try to settle.

Bei Abnahme von wenigstens 100 Kilogramm tritt eine Preisermässigung von 5% ein. When ordering at least 100 Kilogramms (read kilograms or kilogrammes) a reduction of 5% will take place (p. 12). Here again the English is not above criticism. The German sentence offers no special difficulties; its meaning is adequately rendered by A reduction of 5% is allowed (or made) on (all) orders of at least 100 kilograms.

Es liegt durchaus nicht in unserer Absicht, Sie zu beleidigen. We are at no time disposed to offend you (p. 19). This strikes one as a most curious translation. We certainly mean no offence to you (or do not mean to offend you) conveys the meaning. I regret that here, in order to keep my discussion within reasonable limits, I shall have to break off abruptly and turn to another matter.

Many are the typographical errors I have noted on the first twenty-five pages of the volume. Among others my list comprises the following: the three bales (p. 1)—read the bales; conduct (p. 7)—read conduct; were not inclined (p. 12)—read are not disinclined; your (p. 16)—read our (unseren); gour (p. 18) -read your; previous (p. 18)-read previous; beglaubtigte (p. 18)-read beglaubigte; contract (p. 20)—read contrast; bunting (p. 21)—read blunting; he (p. 22)—read she (sie); clothers (p. 22)—read clothes; worket (p. 23) read worked; nepher (p. 24)—read nephew; wit (p. 25)—read with; varions (p. 25)—read various; manufacture (p. 24)—read manufactory (personally I prefer factory). In the phrase etwas abpassen (p. 13) the word etwas appears in Roman instead of German type. A superfluous a has slipped into the sentence He was running about like a mad (p. 14). On page 14 challenge defiance should be punctuated challenge, defiance. For Such things are not got rid in a hurry (p. 18) read are not got rid of (or to be got rid of) in a hurry. The sentence I shall pay these books in weekly instalments should be emended I shall pay for these books in weekly instalments.

A lexicon of this type is primarily an apparatus or, more accurately perhaps, a tool. In view of the labor expended upon its making, it is somewhat disheartening to realize how much better this 800-page volume might have been. Despite its defects, however, it will no doubt prove useful to many.

University of Iowa

C. H. IBERSHOFF



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CONTENTS

On the Originality of Terence Roy C. Flickinger	97
Aldhelm's "Rude Infancy" Albert S. Cook	115
Caramuel de Lobkowitz and his Commentary (1668) on Lope de Vega's Arte Nuevo de Hacer	
Comedias Joseph E. Gillet	120
An Examination of the Chronology of	
Coleridge's Lecture Notes Dorothy I. Morrill	138
In Praise of Homer A. Shewan	151
English Literature, 1660-1800: A Current	
Bibliography Ronald S. Crane	155
Brief Articles and Notes	
Notes for Prometheus Unbound C. A. Brown	195
Green Shoestrings M. Channing Linthicum	198
The Use of the Weak Inflection of	
the Gothic Adjective in a Vocative	
Function Albert M. Sturtevant	199
A Note on Lyly's Euphues Allen R. Benham	201
Book Reviews	203
G. C. VAN LANGENHOVE, On the Origin of the Gerund in English (Morgan Calloway, Jr.). R. J. Hayes, Comparative Idiom: An Introduction to the Study of Modern Languages (Oscar E. Johnson). Ruth A. Hesselgrave, Lady Miller and the Batheaston Literary Circle (Robert C. Whitford). Alexander Bell, Le Lai d'Haveloc and Gaimar's Haveloc Episode (A. J. Dickman). J. M. Murry, Keats and Shakespeare, and C. D. Thorfe, The Mind of John Keats (Bartholow V. Crawford). Barry Cerf, Anatole France, the Degeneration of a Great Artist (Charles E. Young).	

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ON THE ORIGINALITY OF TERENCE¹

By Roy C. FLICKINGER University of Iowa

In 1923 Professor Gilbert Norwood, then at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire but now at the University of Toronto, published an interesting and valuable volume on The Art of Terence.² Several pages³ of this work were devoted to a consideration of the "originality" of Terence. By this term the author did not refer to the assistance which the playwright was sometimes charged with having received from Laelius and Scipio but to the degree of independence which he showed in translating, adapting, and remodelling the Greek plays upon which his own were based. This question, which in the absence of the Greek originals is never likely to receive a definitive answer, has a bearing upon several problems in which I am interested; and consequently I desire on the present occasion to pass briefly in review the arguments which Professor Norwood brought forward in his study of this topic.

On the one side of this question Norwood listed certain statements in the literary tradition, the force of which, he thinks, is in the outcome more than counterbalanced by six negative arguments.

In the first place, then, after citing certain formulae like *Graeca Menandru* in the didascalic notices and certain phrases in Terence's own prologues, together with similar statements in Donatus' commentary and the words

conversum expressumque Latina voce Menandrum

in Cicero's epigram on Terence, Norwood roundly declares: "It must be confused that the evidence against his [Terence's] originality is at first sight overwhelming."

¹ Read before the American Philological Association at the University of Cincinnati, Dec. 29, 1927.

² Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 156.

³ Cf. op. cit., pp. 4-17.

⁴ Cf. op. cit., pp. 4 f.

It is unfortunate that the author begins his discussion with such an overstatement, for in fact, with two possible exceptions, there is nothing here which is not consonant with almost any degree of literalness or independence in Terence's relation to the Greek originals. The two exceptions are the phrases "ex integra Graeca integram comoediam" in *Heauton*, vs. 4, and "verbum de verbo expressum" in *Ad.*, vs. 11, both of which I have already had occasion to discuss elsewhere. The former phrase is an assurance that the *Heauton* was neither the result of contamination nor derived from a Greek play which had previously been translated into Latin. I shall carry the discussion of the passage no further at this time for the reason that I do not recall that any one but Norwood has ever maintained that these words indicate the degree of fidelity with which Terence reproduced the *ipsissima verba* of Menander, Apollodorus, or Diphilus.

The other phrase is more difficult. Obviously the exact significance of such words would vary at different periods and in different places according to prevailing traditions and current practices in such matters. Fabia saw the truth long ago⁶ when he wrote: "Terence n'a pas plus connu et pratiqué que les anciens en général ce que nous appelons la traduction littérale."

In this connection it is illuminating to examine three parallel passages which Aulus Gellius has placed in juxtaposition from Menander's *Plocium* and Caecilius Statius' translation thereof, and to read Gellius' own comments upon them.

We are accustomed to read the comedies of our Latin poets as taken over and translated (sumptas ac versas) from Greek poets like Menander, Posidippus, Apollodorus, Alexis, etc. When we read the former, they not only cause us no particular irritation but even seem delightful and attractive—so much so, in fact, that you might think that they could not be improved upon. But when you turn to the Greek works from which they have been derived and consider the details, how utterly base and unworthy the Latin versions begin to appear.

In illustration of this criticism Gellius quoted Menander's Greek and Caecilius' Latin for three passages in the *Plocium*. The Greek of the third passage, which is the one most closely translated by Caecilius, reads as follows:

⁵ Cf. "A Study of Terence's Prologues," Philological Quarterly, VI (1927), 235-69, especially pp. 248-50 and 264 f.

⁶ Cf. the introduction of his edition of the Eunuchus (Paris, 1895), p. 58, n. 5; cited also by Norwood, op. cit., p. 5, n. 2.

 $^{^{7}}$ Cf. Noct. Att. II, 23 (Hertz' edition), somewhat abbreviated and paraphrased.

δ τρίς κακόδαιμον, ὅστις ὂν πένης ἀνὴρ καὶ παιδοποιεί. ὡς ἀλόγιστός ἐστ' ἀνήρ, ὑς μήτε φυλακὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔχει μήτ', ἄν ἀτυχήση εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ βίου, ἐπαμφιέσαι δύναιτο τοῦτο χρήμασιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀκαλύπτω καὶ ταλαιπώρω βίω χειμαζόμενος ζῆ, τῶν μὲν ἀνιαρῶν ἔχων τὸ μέρος ἀπάντων, τῶν δ' ἀγαῶν οὐδὲν μέρος, ὑπὲρ γὰρ ἑνὸς ἀλγῶν, ἄπαντας νουθετῶ.

"Let us consider," continues Gellius, "how these words have been mangled by Caecilius:

Is demum infortunatus est homo pauper, qui educit in egestatem liberos, cui fortuna et res utut est continuo patet. Nam opulento famam facile occultat factio.''

Here nine lines of Greek have been reduced to four lines of Latin; the first line and a half have been given a relatively close and adequate translation in the first two lines of the Latin, especially when metrical requirements are taken into account; but the other six and a half lines have been sadly misrepresented by the last two lines of Caecilius. Still, as such things were done among the Romans, this must be recognized as a good translation.

The worst of the three pairs of passages is the second, where Gellius says that Caecilius has "spoiled" (corrupit) his original.

έχω δ' ἐπίκληφον Λάμιαν. οὐκ εἰφηκά σοι τοῦτ'; εἰτ' ἄφ' οὐχί; κυφίαν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν † καὶ πάντων ἀντ' ἐκείνες † ἔχομεν, "Απολλον, ὡς χαλεπῶν χαλεπώτατον. ἄπασι δ' ἀφγαλέα 'στίν, οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνω, υἰῷ, πολὸ μᾶλλον θυγατφί. [Β.] πρᾶγμα ἄμαχον λέγεις, εὖ οἰδα.

[A] Sed tua morosane uxor, quaeso, est?
[B] Qui tandem?
[B] Taedet mentionis, quae mihi, ubi domum adveni, adsedi, extemplo savium dat ieiuna anima.
[A] Nil peccat de savio.
Ut devomas volt, quod foris potaveris.

Here not a single word of the Greek is literally reproduced in the Latin version; and nothing of the thought is carried over, either, beyond the expression of the distaste which the speaker feels for his wife. Moreover, a speech of five and a half lines has been broken up into a dialogue, and the details coarsened. In the light of this version, it is obvious that the Romans might have thought a passage verbum de verbo expressum which nevertheless fell far short of what we would consider a word-for-word translation.

Since the first pair of passages is longer and falls between the two extremes already considered, I shall not stop to quote the text. Except for the absence of coarseness, the situation here is much the same as in the last instance: the emotional atmosphere is preserved but at the expense not merely of the concrete details but even of the original wording.

The final comment of Gellius, non puto Caecilium sequi debuisse quod assequi nequiret, is perhaps unfair, since obviously he and Caecilius, though each probably reacted faithfully to the opinions and practices of his own age, had entirely different ideas of what is meant by a translation.

The question now arises as to whether these three passages were typical of Caecilius' methods; and of course the likelihood must be allowed that Gellius choose the best examples which he could find to confirm his contention. Nevertheless, anyone who has compared the extensive fragments of Roman tragoediae⁸ of this general period with the extant body of Greek tragedies upon which they were at least ultimately based, will find it easy to believe that in both fields Roman playwrights not only felt but also exercised considerable freedom in dealing with their Greek prototypes.

We now return to the main question as to whether Terence was more strict in this matter than his contemporaries and, in particular, whether the phrase verbum de verbo expressum in Ad., vs. 11, may properly be employed to prove him so. Although I am personally convinced that he was more strict, especially in the Heauton, still the fact remains that verbum . . . expressum is not only to be discounted on the basis of contemporary practices but also to be limited10 in its application to the scene which Terence had lifted from the Συναποθνήσκοντες of Diphilus and inserted by "contamination" in his version of Menander's 'Αδελφοί. In those days to translate a Greek play which had already been translated was considered plagiarism (furtum), and the Συναποθνήσκοντες had already been translated by Plautus. Terence's defense¹¹ is that the very scene which he was transcribing had by some chance been passed over by Plautus, who had therefore left it untouched (integrum) for another to use. Now if Plautus translated the other scenes of this play after the fashion employed by Caecilius in the Plocium and if Terence had followed the same style in tak-

¹¹ Cf. Philological Quarterly, VI, 264 f.



⁸ Cf., e.g., Ennius' transcription of Eur., Medea, vss. 214-18.

⁹ Cf. Philological Quarterly VI (1927), 251 and 258.

¹⁰ Norwood is aware of this fact, op. cit., p. 6, but does not permit it to influence his deductions.

ing over this one scene, it is obvious that verbal resemblances¹² might easily have been found in the two versions, which would quickly have brought forth charges that Terence had exceeded the narrow boundaries which were left open to him. Accordingly, if he wished to carry through what he was attempting, he had only one line of effective defense against the possibility of such charges. This was to translate this scene with such fidelity that the fact would be beyond dispute that he was borrowing from this very passage of Diphilus' play and from nowhere else. I maintain that this was exactly what Terence did do, and that it is exactly what in vs. 11 of the prologue he said that he was doing. Consequently the phrase has no application to his method of translation elsewhere.

It will be remembered that we have been reviewing the evidence which Norwood believed to be "at first sight overwhelming" against the originality of Terence and sufficient to establish the "natural conclusion" that "the Terentian corpus is a mass of translation as close to the originals as the demands of verse permit." I hope that I have succeeded in showing that the arguments adduced, even considered by themselves and quite apart from arguments of a contrary tendency, are not capable of establishing any such presumption.

Having first set up a straw man of this character, Professor Norwood at once proceeded to knock him down by means of six negative arguments, which we shall now pass under review. The first of these is that "were Terence only a translator, it would be amazing or incredible that his comedies, when arranged in chronological order, should exhibit a steady advance in technical excellence. The detailed proof of this advance forms the greater part of the present essay." With the consent of my readers I shall defer the discussion of this argument and return to it at the end.

Norwood's second point is Terence's practice of contaminatio, which he regards as

a sign of originality and originality of a marked, indeed perplexing order. We do at any rate know this of Menander, that he was a master of his craft. . . . that his construction was so nerveless and loose that it would admit, and conceivably be improved by, the insertion of a scene or scenes culled from Diphilus,



¹² For uncertainty actually arising from a situation of this sort in connection with the "contamination" of the Eunuchus, cf. ibid., VI, 260.

¹³ Cf. op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁴ Cf. op. cit., p. 6.

is a great strain on credulity, especially when this eccentric surgery is practised by a foreigner of twenty or thereabouts. . . . The fact is that contaminatio by its very nature will, if dispassionately considered, show us how Terrence worked. It is already plain that he has his own conception of each plot and insists on following that conception. 15

The practice of contaminatio is of course evidence that Terence felt at liberty to treat the Greek original with considerable freedom; and it is conceivable that one who exercised such freedom in this particular might use it also in translating each "ingredient" of a "contaminated" play. But whether Terence in fact did so is the whole point at issue, and we must look elsewhere for the answer. At least Norwood is correct in stating that the use of contaminatio is no proof of "slavish imitation."

Norwood continues:

In the third place, how on the translation-theory are we to explain the fact that Plautus, with exactly the same models, and often no other models, before him, is so different from Terence. . . . it must be said that Plautus is not merely inferior to Terence, he is not even in the same class. . . How can this kind of literature and the Terentian comedies proceed by the same method from the same source? For the same method it is, so we are given to understand. The Plautine prologues describe Plautus' indebtedness to Greek models precisely as does Terence. . . . Further, two of the extant comedies are derived, according to their didascaliae, from one and the same original, Menander's Adelphoe. The Terentian 'copy' is the Adelphoe; but some readers will find it difficult to guess what comedy of Plautus is involved. Incredible as it appears, that comedy is the Stichus! This ludicrous situation should by itself go far to explode the translation-theory. Plautus and Terence claim to translate models taken from the same literary family at any rate—if we shrink from the Adelphoe plays as an isolated and unintelligible miracle. Then why is there not a strong family likeness between the work of the two Latin playwrights? That each is simply translating is impossible. The natural surmise is that both are innovating. 16

As to one detail of this argument Norwood acknowledges in a footnote Schoell's suggestion that Menander had written two plays called 'Αδελφοί. This theory is extremely plausible and has recently been re-examined by Professor Sedgwick,¹⁷ who believes that 'Αδελφοί A' was the source of Terence's play and 'Αδελφοί B' of Plautus'. The use of such doublets was by no means uncommon among Greek playwrights, and might denote either that the second play of the same name was merely a second edition of the first, revised much or little, or that it was an entirely different production. 'Αδελφοί, moreover, was a common title in Greek comedy, six plays of that name being known in addition to Menander's.¹⁸ It is there-

¹⁵ Cf. op. cit., p. 8.

¹⁶ Cf. op. cit., pp. 9 f.

¹⁷ Cf. Classical Review, XXXIX (1925), 59 f.

¹⁸ And not counting two pieces entitled 'Αδελφαί.

fore not difficult to understand why Plautus' Stichus and Terence's Adelphoe were so dissimilar.

It is obvious, also, that Norwood failed to appreciate the enormous fecundity and diversity of Greek comedy. It has been estimated that 1800 comedies were listed in the great didascalic inscription at Rome, even on the assumption that this carried no entries later than about 270 B.C., a full century before the beginning of Terence's career. And Professor Prescott²⁰ has pertinently inquired what "absolute uniformity" and "complete regularity" may be expected in authors like Antiphanes credited with 260 plays, Alexis with 245, Philemon with 97, and Menander with over a hundred. If Terence's "subject-matter is amazingly limited," it must be supposed that this type of subject appealed to him, not that he had no opportunity of choosing something else. On the other hand, Plautus had not only different tastes but more catholic tastes. In the prologue to the Captivi he boasted that he had found a play

non pertractate factast neque item ut ceterae (vs. 55).

The diversity of theme in the plays which have come down to us under the name of Plautus suggests that this was a conscious principle in the system on which he operated.

For the rest, no one would or could deny the importance of the personal equation when dramatic material, even similar or identical material, was being adopted by two different playwrights. Scholars are all but a unit in believing that Plautus was an exemplar of Italian humor and that the more boisterous passages and the scenes of horse-play and slap-stick were enlargements due to him or even independently invented by him, but that Terence, on the contrary, was more sympathetic with Hellenic feeling and placed more value upon subtlety and refinement. Whatever validity may or may not adhere in this differentiation, the fact remains that the two men were inevitably different in personality and therefore would necessarily choose different types of Greek plays for their use and that, so far as they allowed themselves to take liberties with their originals, they would select different kinds of innovations to introduce. Such a statement, however, constitutes no proof that Terence



¹⁹ Cf. Dittmer, Fragments of Athenian Comic Didascaliae Found at Rome (1923), p. 7.

²⁰ Cf. Classical Philology, XI (1916), 136, n. 2.

²¹ Cf. Norwood, op. cit., p. 4.

refashioned the Greek plays with such freedom that his comedies were to all intents and purposes independent creations, which is the underlying assumption of Norwood's thesis that the plays when arranged in chronological sequence exhibit a steadily ascending order of dramatic merit and technical excellence.²²

Norwood finds his fourth argument in the celebrated verses of Julius Caesar:

tu quoque, tu in summis, o dimidiate Menander, poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator. lenibus atque utinam scriptis adiuncta foret vis, comica ut aequato virtus polleret honore cum Graecis neve hac despectus parte iaceres! unum hoc maceror ac doleo tibi desse, Terenti.

Norwood frankly admits that these verses are "double-edged," since in the fact that "our poet is called a 'half-Menander'23 one implication . . . is at least this that Terence has no particular independent value." Nevertheless Norwood argues:

Postponing all question as to what precisely Caesar intends by comic force, we can assert at once that this criticism proves beyond doubt that in its author's view Terence was no mere copyist or translator. Had he been so, the comic power of Menander must have shown itself in the Roman plays. In fact, it is precisely this element which could not be spoiled by a translator, while wit and beauty of diction might easily perish in the alembic. The poorest version of Aristophanes, however it mangles the lyrics of the Birds, does not omit Prometheus and his umbrella, still less the whole comic conception of Nephelococcygia and its meaning for politics and theology.²⁴

Here, it will be observed that, despite his disclaimer, Norwood really assumes "comic force" to refer to quality of dramatic action, even though later on (op. cit., p. 141) he is unable to choose between this meaning and forcefulness of diction. But the extensive fragments of Menander which have come to light within the last quarter-century show that Terence was not inferior to Menander in dramatic action, and in a matter so palpable Caesar could not have been deceived. Accordingly, it is clear that his verses refer exclusively to stylistic qualities: Terence's language had purity and polish but lacked force. Perhaps Caesar was mistaken

²² Cf. op. cit., p. 6; cf. also p. 13: "But the architecture of each play is his own. . . . All the specifically dramatic qualities, all that places him among the great playwrights—all this is Terence, and nothing but Terence."

²³ For another interpretation of this phrase as meaning the "counterpart," "other half," or "second volume" of Menander, cf. P.Q., VI (1927), 252-54. See also Pascal, "Il Menandro Latino," in Athenaeum, IV (1926), 48-51.

²⁴ Cf. Norwood, op. cit., p. 11.

²⁵ Elsewhere Norwood recognizes that comica modifies virtus, not vis; cf. op. cit., p. 140, n. 3.

in this judgment. Norwood evidently thinks so and dogmatically asserts that "whichever horn of the dilemma we choose, Caesar must be set down as the worst of critics." But at least in such a matter there is room for difference of opinion, and it is interesting to observe that Cicero in the verses? which he wrote in praise of Terence shared the same judgment. His lecto sermone and come loquens... dulcia miscens correspond to Caesar's puri sermonis and lenibus scriptis, while sedatis motibus is another way of expressing the absence of vis. The point of view in regard to the relative merits of Menander and Terence was probably derived from M. Antonius Gnipho, who was the teacher of both Cicero and Caesar and had perhaps set this subject as an exercise in verse composition. In the judgment of this group, then, Menander exemplified, as Terence did not, the words of Horace:

interdum tamen et vocem Comoedia tollit, iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore.²⁹

Now it is self-evident that, even if Terence failed to reproduce the forcefulness of Menander's language, he would not thereby be proved to have departed widely from the "architecture" of the Greek play which he was translating. In fact the very attempt to translate closely might well be the effective cause of a lack of forcefulness in expression.

Norwood's fifth argument is drawn from Donatus' commentary upon Terence.

It is plainly absurd that, if Terence is <merely> translating, the note-writer should stop at certain isolated passages and remark: 'This is a translation of the following words by Menander.' E.g. on Andria, vs. 592 (quid nam audio?): Menander enim sic ait: τί δή ποτ' ἀκούσω; on Eunuchus, vs. 131 (quid igitur faciam?): Menander: είτα τί ποιήσω; on Adelphoe, vs. 43 (quod fortunatum isti putant): Menander: ὁ μακάριον μ', ὅστις γυναίκ' οὐ λαμβάνω Donatus, moreover, often indicates a divergence of treatment. A noteworthy instance of this is found at the opening of The Girl of Andros. In Menander's Andria the preliminary explanation was contained in a monologue of the senex, and in his Perinthia there was a dialogue between this person and his wife. But Terence offers a conversation between Simo and his freedman Sosia. . . . 32

³² A conflation of Norwood, op. cit., pp. 11 f. and note 2.



²⁶ Cf. op. cit., p. 141.

²⁷ Cf. Wessner's Donatus, I, p. 9.

²⁸ Cf. Sihler, A.J.P., XXVI (1905), 13 and 16 f., and Oldfather and Bloom, C.J., XXII (1927), 587 f.

²⁹ Ars Poet., vss. 93 f.

³⁰ Cf. Norwood, op. cit., p. 13.

³¹ The reference should be to vs. 46, i.e., to the first verse after the prologue.

The inference is that, if Donatus could find parallels no more striking than those cited, he must have had a poor collection to choose from. But these citations do not warrant such an assumption. Donatus did not quote these Greek phrases in order to show how much they resembled the version of Terence, but for quite another purpose. This fact is partly obscured because Norwood did not take his citations from the best edition of Donatus, viz., that of Wessner.³³ Two of the three notes deal with a syntactical problem, the use of audio (audiam) and faciam in deliberative questions. In the last passage Donatus strove to clear up the application of isti, a point which is indeed far from certain.

With Norwood's citation of the first passage³⁴ should be compared the following from Wessner's edition: "QVIDNAM AUDIO legitur et 'audiam'; Menander enim sic ait τί ποτ' ἀπούσομαι." Quite apart from the Greek citation, therefore, it is plain that there was a variant reading here in Terence. The Greek text is corrupt but, if Dziatzko's emendation is correct, Donatus was citing Menander as favoring the reading audiam, which he evidently took as a future. The citation was not made merely to show how closely Terence followed his model.

The intention of the second note, which also needs to be cited in full, is much the same: "QVID IGITVR FACIAM Menander $å\lambda\lambda\lambda$ i π 00i00; hinc Vergilius 'hem quid agam.'" It seems that Donatus preferred to interpret all three verbs as indicatives. The fact that he cites Vergil again indicates that he was not primarily intending to prove a resemblance between the Greek and Latin versions.

The third note is longer than I care to take space to quote, but the whole point is the application of *isti*, which Terence's context does not make clear. Donatus quotes Menander to show that the form of expression there is dissimilar and does not contribute to

³³ Leipzig: Teubner, 1902-1908.

³⁴ Norwood does not indicate from what edition of Donatus he is citing. The reading ἀκούσω, which of course may be either future or subjunctive, is preserved in Stephanus' edition (1536). It is at any rate unfortunate that Norwood cited the passage in a form which obscures the purpose of Donatus' note.

³⁵ Wessner inserted a reference to Aen. IV, 534, where modern editions read en quid ago? It is interesting to note that on this passage Servius cited Terence's quid igitur faciam? According to Wetmore's Index Verborum Vergilianus, agam occurs in Vergil only at Aen. IV, 546. Either Donatus knew a different reading at vs. 534, or he had confused the forms in the two neighboring passages. At any rate the intention of his note at this point is plain.

the elucidation of the problem.³⁶ So far from proving how closely Terence follows his Greek, the result is precisely the opposite. On the other hand, the very fact that Donatus felt it necessary to quote Menander, even though the citation did not assist in clearing up the uncertainty, indicates that normally the two versions were close enough together so that a collation of the two would be considered essential in discussing such a topic.

What becomes, then, of Norwood's assumption that such passages afford the most striking examples that Donatus could find of close adherence to his Greek model on the part of Terence? It must be rejected. The fact is that verbal resemblances of this sort do not seem to have interested Donatus at all, and he fails to cite even the most striking instance known to us; cf. Ad. 866:

ego ille agrestis, saevos, tristis, parcus, truculentus, tenax

with

έγὼ δ' άγροῖκος, ἐργάτης, σκυθρός, πικρός, φειδωλός. 37

To me it seems that the most natural inference from this situation is that Terence so often translated about as faithfully as the difference in language and the requirements of his meter would permit, that resemblances of this sort excited no surprise and seemed to Donatus to require no comment.

Moreover, this conclusion finds support in the fact that Donatus records Terence's departures from his original not only in matters of real importance, relatively speaking, like the combination of Diphilus' Commorientes with Menander's Adelphoe to form the Latin play of that name or the invention of a secondary plot de novo for the Andria, but also in details which were more or less insignificant such as the substitution of a dialogue between a senex and a libertus for a monologue or for a dialogue between a senex and his wife,3s the expression of a thought indirectly instead of

³⁶ Wessner marks the beginning of the Greek quotation in this note as hopelessly corrupt. The emendation followed by Norwood is especially unsatisfactory as involving a non-Greek construction, the accusative of exclamation.

³⁷ Cf. Photius s.v. σχυθρός, αὐθέχαστος, αὐστηρός. It is true that Photius does not mention in which of Menander's plays these words occur, but scholars, including Meineke and Kock, accept the attribution to the 'Αδελφοί without question.—In P.Q., VI (1927), 265, n. 56, read "Photius" for "Donatus" at the end of fourth line.

³⁸ Cf. Donatus ad Ad., vs. 14.

letting it come from the character's own lips as in Menander,³⁹ the remodeling of a declarative sentence into a question,⁴⁰ the fact that a character fails to reply to a greeting in Terence but was more polite in Menander,⁴¹ that an unhappy youth in the Adelphoe threatened to go into exile, whereas Menander represented him as contemplating suicide,⁴² and countless other instances of varying degrees of triviality.⁴³ Legrand seems well warranted in saying: "Did Terence, then, invent so much, add or suppress so much in the process of drawing his characters that we need have constant scruples when we quote him? The changes indicated by Donatus are not of great consequence, and it is hard to understand why they should have been thought worthy of special mention if many others of greater importance had existed. Donatus—or the authors upon whom he relied—must have pointed out only such of them as constituted something exceptional in the works of Terence."

Norwood's final argument rests upon certain phrases in Terence's prologues, though he grants that these "are no less double-edged in appearance than Caesar's verdict."

But the main impression which they convey is that Terence puts himself forward boldly as an innovator; he is the exponent of a new dramatic school:—

facite aequi sitis, date crescendi copiam, novarum qui spectandi faciunt copiam sine vitiis (*Heaut.* vss. 28-30).

The very raison d'être of these prologues is to bespeak attention for a new enterprise, the challenge of youthful audacity to a stupid tasteless public and pedantic out-of-date rivals. Could anything be more ridiculous if Terence is only staging versions of Greek work known and admired for generations, much of it, moreover, already produced on the Roman stage with applause. It may be observed by the way that the prologue to our text of The Mother-in-Law calls the final version 'entirely new' (planest pro nova, vs. 5). How can this be, if the earlier version or versions, and the final, are all translations of one original? . . . 45

The last point is extremely unfortunate for Norwood's contention, since he has misunderstood the phrase pro nova.⁴⁶ Terence meant simply that an old play (but never produced) was being

³⁹ Cf. Donatus ad Phor., vs. 647.

⁴⁰ Cf. Donatus ad And., vs. 794.

⁴¹ Cf. Donatus ad Ad., vs. 81.

⁴² Cf. Donatus ad Ad., vs. 275.

⁴³ For other examples, cf. Norwood, op. cit., p. 11, n. 3, and Legrand, The New Greek Comedy (translated by Loeb), p. 49.

⁴⁴ Cf. Legrand, op. cit., pp. 49 f.

⁴⁵ Cf. Norwood, op. cit., p. 12.

⁴⁶ Cf. P.Q., VI, 267, n. 61.

performed "as if new," "instead of a new one," "as a substitute for a new one."

Moreover, the words of *Hec.*, vss. 28-30, are entirely incapable of sustaining the interpretation which Norwood rests upon them. Terence claimed nothing for himself there but that his plays were *sine vitiis*. Surely this phrase is quite consonant with the supposition that Terence is striving to introduce a new elegance into the process of transferring Menander from Greek to Latin and have no necessary bearing whatsoever upon the degree of accuracy employed. In fact, to me it would seem that, so far as they imply anything, they imply a greater closeness to the original.

We are now ready to resume the consideration of Norwood's first negative argument (see p. 101, above):

... were Terence only a translator, would it not be amazing or incredible that his comedies, when arranged in chronological order, should exhibit a steady advance in technical excellence? The detailed proof of this advance forms the greater part of the present essay. Here it must suffice to state dogmatically, by anticipation, that the sequence—The Girl of Andros, Self-Punishment, The Eunuch, Phormio, The Mother-in-Law, The Brothers—is both the order of composition and a steadily ascending order of dramatic merit. . . . If, then, Terence is nothing but a borrower, we are to believe that he began by translating comparatively weak comedies, and selected better and better as he went on. Is this in the least probable? Is it credible? . . . Is it not plain that a man in Terence's position would select at once the simplest among the very best of his exemplar's work, and only after repeated successes come to writings of less merit?*

There is nothing here to impress us greatly. Of how many playwrights in the dramatic history of all the world would it be true that the chronological sequence of their plays formed "a steadily ascending order of dramatic merit?" Such a hypothesis is so unreasonable as itself to require the most conclusive proof instead of lending support to other theories. Norwood thinks that, if anyone were translating Mr. Hardy's novels into Russian or Shakespeare into Japanese, he would begin with the best works of these writers and gradually descend to those of lesser merit—the very opposite of what he conceives Terence to have done. If it be considered possible that the writings of each author could be graduated according to relative worth to the general satisfaction of competent critics, it would be interesting to examine the sequences actually adopted by different translators of various modern writers. It is plain in advance that merit would be only one of several factors involved in each selection. Another factor in the case of Terence



⁴⁷ Norwood, op. cit., pp. 6 f.

and Menander is perhaps discoverable in the ancient tradition. Terence died on a trip to Greece, and different theories were advanced as to the reasons for his journey thither. There were several authorities who stated that while there he had translated numerous plays of Menander into Latin.⁴⁸ Is it unreasonable to surmise from this situation that the full corpus of Menander was not readily procurable in Rome in the middle of the second century B.C. and that Terence's range of selection had thus been considerably curtailed.

The crux of the argument, however, is the *Hecyra*, which Norwood considers "possibly the finest masterpiece of high comedy in the world." "The truth is that, if we look simply at the work Terence has here (sc. in the *Hecyra*) bequeathed to us, we find the purest and most perfect example of classical high comedy, strictly so called, which dramatic literature can offer from any age or any nation. . . . in these virtues our neglected play has stood unsurpassed for twenty-one centuries." 50

Such an aberration of judgment is perhaps not to be marvelled Norwood's book is suggestive, brightly written, reveals wide reading, and displays real insight into dramatic secrets and not a few instances of rare discernment. And yet our examination of his arguments as regards Terence's originality has shown that, on the one hand, his two main positive arguments do not substantiate his statement that "the evidence against Terence's originality is at first sight overwhelming" and that, on the other hand, five of his six negative arguments certainly do not "make it flatly impossible to regard Terence as a mere translator, indeed as less than an independent playwright in all the definitely dramatic aspects of his works."51 The truth is that Norwood, despite all his other merits, has a fondness for immoderate statements as, e.g., when he declares that Plautus "wrote plays like a blacksmith mending a watch,"52 that Terence has suffered from "the strange tendency of classical scholars to estimate dramatic works without considering their dra-

⁴⁸ Cf. Wessner, Vol. I, pp. 7 f. According to Q. Cosconius the number was 108, which is usually given as the total number of Menander's plays and is only one short of the largest aggregate mentioned by any ancient writer. But of course Terence had already translated several of these before going to Greece and several others were rendered unavailable for new translation, under the contemporary theory of furtum, by having already been translated by others.

⁴⁹ Cf. Norwood, op. cit., p. 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 90 f.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 6.

⁵² Ibid., p. 1.

matic qualities."53 that the Amphitruo was "possibly the most detestable of Plautus' productions,"54 that "the Victorian blight brought both drama and popular dramatic taste in England to the lowest point compatible with civilization,"55 and that "Caesar must be set down as the worst of critics." Of course Norwood is privileged to entertain whatever opinion may please him of the Hecyra, and I confess that his high appreciation of it has value as a needed corrective to the undue depreciation of some critics, both ancient and modern. But it is self-evident that Norwood's rating of the Hecyra can be used as evidence to convince other students only as they are persuaded of its value. Norwood has now had an opportunity to state his case for the Hecyra, and the decision may be seen in the words of Professor Phillimore's review: "I quarrel with a judgment that prefers the Hecyra to the Heauton, a comedy which ventures even higher in emotion and fits the most consummate of humorous reversals (better than that of the Adelphoe, because richer in irony) into the very marrow of the plot.''57 It is plain that in his extravagant advocacy of the Hecyra Norwood is in the case of "my son John" with whom the rest of the army is out of step. Consequently the argument drawn from the alleged coincidence between the chronological sequence and the order of merit in Terence's plays loses all validity as a proof of his originality.

It remains to examine Norwood's general conclusions which, though resting upon insecure foundations, may nevertheless be more or less acceptable, since the truth must needs lie somewhere between the two extremes which he mentions.

Terence uses the Greek New Comedy as a kind of quarry. Often he may translate several consecutive lines, conceivably at times a whole scene. But the architecture of each play is his own. Any existing passages that happen exactly to suit his purpose he feels at liberty to take over with the minimum of alteration demanded by prosody and the difference between Roman and Athenian topography and social custom. But he never allows the drift of a speech or scene to twist him aside from his own object. All the specifically dramatic qualities, all that places him among the great playwrights—all this is Terence and nothing but Terence. He employs the Greek literature before him as Shakespeare employs Plutarch and Holinshed. . . . On one illustrious instance of adaptation we may dwell more in detail. Not only is it deeply interesting in itself; so long as we possess no complete work of Menander, Apollodorus, or Diphilus, it is scarcely too much to say that this modern instance is our best guide in the study of Terentian imitation.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 3, n.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 16.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 90.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 141.

⁵⁷ Cf. Classical Review, XXXIX (1925), 41.

Molière was understood to have translated in his Amphitryon the Amphitruo of Plautus. This is in some sense true. Though, as was to be expected, the wit almost everywhere receives a finer edge, the diction vastly more grace and suppleness, yet the whole plot and nearly all the scenes retain precisely the external shape which Plautus gave them. Moreover, we find now and again close translation as we understand it today. . . But observe the discrepancies. First of all, Molière introduces new characters, . . . Secondly, he has practised auto-contaminatio, if the expression may be allowed, and, turning his back upon Plautus, has borrowed from a scene of his own Dom Gracie de Navarre. But the third change is vastly more momentous; it is the strong tinge of moral consciousness which marks the French work. . . But by far the most striking improvement effected by Molière is curiously Terentian in its technical vigor and delicacy, if not in its content. His Jupiter is not content to be accepted by Alemena simply as Amphitryon. . . . The disguised god begs her to see in him a lover as well as a husband. It is a superb stroke of stagecraft, . . .

From all the evidence available, it seems to the present writer highly probable that the Terentian 'imitation' of Menander was closely analogous to this 'imitation' of Plautus by Molière, who, while keeping (as regards 'the story') very close to the Roman play, has usually carried the whole idea into a differ-

ent world of thought and sentiment.58

There is much here that is acceptable and much, as Norwood recognizes,⁵⁹ that has already been said by others. Ad. vs. 866, where the Greek text has been preserved by Photius, certainly shows "close translation as we understand it to-day." The phrase verbum de verbo expressum (Ad., vs. 11) is most naturally interpreted as looking in the same direction with reference to the interpolated scene (vss. 154 ff.) of the same play. I am personally of the opinion that, possibly to a still lesser degree, the whole of the Heauton is a result of the same tendency. In the second place, the prologue to the Eunuchus confesses that Terence "has introduced new characters" by transferring the rôles of the boastful soldier and the parasite to that play from another one. Thirdly, he did not practice what Norwood calls "auto-contamination," but he did what was equivalent to this when he invented the characters of Charinus and Byrrhia and added them to the Andria. On the other hand, it is to be doubted that Menander's wit ever, let alone "almost everywhere," received "a finer edge" in Terence, or that his diction acquired "vastly more grace and suppleness." I demand proof that a "strong tinge of moral consciousness" is more characteristic of Terence than of Menander, or that the Roman playwright has effected a "striking improvement . . . in technical vigor and delicacy" over his Greek original. These considerations show us that, however interesting and suggestive may be the equation

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 13-17.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13, n. 3.

⁶⁰ Cf. Donatus ad And., vs. 301.

Terence: Menander-Molière: Plautus,

we must not allow ourselves to become the victims of our own rhetoric.

Norwood has done well to emphasize the "architectonic power" of Terence.⁶¹ But what proof has he adduced that this power was not already resident in Menander? When he states that in Molière "the whole plot and nearly all the scenes retain precisely the external shape which Plautus gave them" and argues that the Terentian "imitation" of Menander was "closely analogous" to Molière's "imitation" of Plautus, he seems to be granting that a large part of the "architecture" belonged to the earlier playwright.

But let us drop inferences drawn from this comparison, and return to Terence-Menander. In the instances where we know that Terence tinkered with the original plot, what has he gained in architectonic power? In the Andria he added the rôles of Charinus and Byrrhia, as Donatus says: "ne παθητικόν fieret Philumenam spretam relinquere sine sponso, Pamphilo aliam ducente." does not sound very impressive, even though it has the merit of adding a secondary plot. Norwood himself is far more severe: "... Charinus and Byrrhia are dramatically useless. Their action has no effect on the plot: indeed it is worse than useless. It adds nothing and leads nowhere." Again, he inserted the abduction scene into the second act of the Adelphoe and Norwood believes that this was done "to bring out the characters both of Aeschinus and of Ctesipho, especially the former. There is no other possible explanation." At the same time he grants that these lines "could be deleted without leaving any serious marks of incompleteness or fracture." It may be allowed that here Terence has perhaps improved upon Menander, but the change is surely too slight to be hailed as a momentous alteration in the architecture of the original play or to justify the claim that "all the specifically dramatic qualities, all that places him among the great playwrights-all this is Terence and nothing but Terence." Be it noted, however, that even in the very act of introducing such an alteration Terence has translated so closely as to leave several minor inconsistencies⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Cf. Ashmore's note on Ad., vss. 198 and introductory to Act II, scene 3.



⁶¹ Cf. Norwood, p. 3, n.: "But I am acquainted with no work on Terence which has (even in a rudimentary manner) demonstrated his architectonic power."

⁶² Ibid., p. 31.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 126.

standing between the original plot and the interpolated scene. Finally, the rôles of the boastful soldier and the parasite in the *Eunuchus* are at least partially due to Terence. But Norwood can scarcely find words strong enough to express his contempt for these scenes:

... the dramatic badness of the whole Thraso element ... unnecessary ... mostly second-rate ... we are astonished to find how useless these worthies prove ... no point ... another instance of cracking a nut with a sledge-hammer ... little in the Thraso passages to distinguish the Eunuch from Plautine comedy ... the absurd 'battle'-scene, where Thraso deploys his household troops in front of Thais' door ... a wretched fiasco—not of course merely for Thraso, but for Terence. ... Plautus, it need not be said, would have carried things vastly better.65

These, then, are the undoubted instances of the "architectonic power" which Terence has instilled into Menander's plays!

As confessed in my opening paragraph, in the absence of the Greek originals this problem is never likely to receive a definitive solution. In conclusion, however, I may perhaps be permitted to express my own opinion, which will be subject to revision as new evidence may accrue. The practice of contamination and of independent invention shows that occasionally Terence did exercise considerable freedom in dealing with his originals. On the other hand, there is equally definite reason for believing that occasionally his translations were so close as to be word for word. For the rest, Afranius referred to him as the "Latin Menander" and Caesar called him the "second-edition" or "second volume" of Menan-This estimate seems to have been not uncommon. He is generally regarded as the most Hellenic⁶⁷ in spirit of all those who translated Greek comedies into Latin. To mention one specific detail in his treatment of his originals, the act (μέρος) divisions of the Greek plays are far more recognizable in him than in Plautus. 68 I am convinced that, despite the rare liberties which he at times permitted himself, his normal practice was such an adherence to his originals as could not be paralleled by any other Roman playwright of standing. His crowning achievement, in my judgment, was that his language never betrays this fact but ever seems the spontaneous expression in choice Latin of the ideas which he sought to convey.

⁶⁵ Norwood, op. cit., pp. 65-67.

⁶⁶ See n. 23, above.

⁶⁷ Cf. Duff, A Literary History of Rome, pp. 203, 207 f., and 218.

⁶⁸ Cf. Burckhardt, Die Akteinteilung in der neuen griechischen u. in der römischen Komödie (1927), p. 7.

ALDHELM'S "RUDE INFANCY"

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In the superscription of a letter, or rather fragment of a letter, written by Aldhelm in 675 before he was made abbot, there occurs an innocent-looking phrase which has occasioned trouble to several of his biographers, beginning with William of Malmesbury (1125). This phrase is rudis infantiæ, and the reference is to himself as a pupil of Abbot Hadrian of Canterbury¹: "Reverentissimo patri meæque rudis infantiæ venerando præceptori Hadriano Aldhelmus."

William (loc. cit.) was impressed by this piece of information: "Quod infantem Adrianus erudierit, ipse in epistola ad eundem sic dicit"; and already he had said this at greater length (p. 333), with the gratuitous remark that it was his father who placed him under Hadrian's tuition:

Parens ergo, qui pro conscientia nobilitatis nichil abjectum saperet, non degeneris magistri scolæ tradidit filium, primis imbuendum elementis, sed Adriano abbati Sancti Augustini, quem in arce scientiæ stetisse, qui Anglorum Gesta perlegit, intelligit. Ibi pusio, Græcis et Latinis eruditus litteris, brevi mirandus ipsis enituit magistris.

We are thus confronted with the extraordinary hypothesis that Aldhelm, in the very year (675) when, according to William (p. 385; cf. p. 347), he became priest, and, according to the accepted chronology (Ehwald, p. xiii), abbot of Malmesbury, wrote to Hadrian, whose instruction he could not have enjoyed till 671² (so Plummer, ed. of Bede's Opera Historica 2.204; cf. 2.358³), referring to himself as a rude infant while under Hadrian's care—an idea which William confirms by assuring us that his father sent him, when a boy, to the Canterbury school over which Hadrian presided, while yet it is this same William who tells us (p. 385) that he died in 709, not less than 70 years of age (p. 332).

Aldhelm was thus born not later than 639, and sent as a boy to

¹ William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, p. 334 H.; Giles Aldhelmi Opera, p. 330; Ehwald, Aldhelmi Opera 478.9-10.

² This is the date accepted by Bönhoff, Aldhelm von Malmesbury, p. 49.

³ So Stubbs, Dict. Chr. Biog. 1.308.

the school of a man who did not reach England till 670, and who did not preside over the school till 671! Here is a pretty puzzle. Evidently much depends upon rudis infantiæ, which threw William off the track. How, then, shall we interpret rudis infantiæ?

The phrase has thus been rendered by various biographers⁴: Giles (1844), Browne (1903), Wildman (1905), rude infancy; Bright (1878), simple childhood; Montalembert (Moines d'Occident, 2d ed., 1868, 5.30), rude enfance; Bönhoff (1894), ungebildete Kindheit; Roger (1905), enfance ignorante; Ehwald (1907), unerfahrene Kindheit.

Comments are:

Giles, pp. xvii-xviii: "Aldhelm . . . may have alluded rather to the uncultured state of his mind than to his juvenile years."

Montalembert, p. 30: "il . . . se plaisait à faire dater de son séjour à Cantorbéry la véritable naissance de son esprit."

Bright, p. 444: "Infantiæ' must have been used very laxly, and with a sort of exaggerative modesty, by Aldhelm."

Hahn (1883), p. 12: "Angeblich schon als Knabe, sicherlich aber erst als Mönch," etc.

Ebert (1889), p. 623, note 3: "Wenn man mit Giles 639 als Geburtsjahr ansetzt, so bleibt unerklärlich wie Aldhelm selbst in einem Briefe Hadrian den Lehrer seiner 'rudis infantiæ' nennen konnte, den dies 'infans' wäre 31 Jahre alt gewesen."

Bönhoff, pp. 40-41: "Der Ausdruck 'rudis infantiæ' darf doch keineswegs einseitig betont werden. . . . Die besagte Redewendung nicht im eigentlichen Sinne zu nehmen ist, . . . sondern auf Rechnung Aldhelmscher Überschwenglichkeit zu sehreiben ist."

Browne (1903), p. 78: "He only meant that he owed to him all the knowledge which he valued most. . . William took him too literally, not having much sense of humor or appreciation of metaphor."

Roger, p. 291: "Le mot infantia, malgré son élasticité, paraît bien impropre."

Wildman, p. 38: "The word 'infancy' refers, not to bodily, but to mental infancy."

Manitius (1911), p. 135: "Der Ausdruck . . . ist bei dem Schwulst der Sprache und bei der verkünstelten Ausdrucksweise nicht wörtlich zu nehmen."

Ehwald (1907), p. 97: "Es ist die spiritalis infantia gemeint."

⁴ For titles of volumes, cf. my paper, Sources of the Biography of Aldhelm (Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences 28.291-2).

Ehwald (1919), pp. x-xi: "Hoc non proprio sensu accipiendum, sed ad spiritalem infantiam referendum est. . . . Prima literarum elementa Cantuarii didicisse eum Willelmus, fallaci epistulæ ad Hadrianum interpretatione duetus, posuit, multique eum sunt secuti."

Wright (1842), following William of Malmesbury's error, would place the date of Aldhelm's birth about 656 (pp. 209-213); Montalembert⁵ (Moines 5.27), about 645; Stubbs (Dict. Chr. Biog. 1.78), about 650; Bright (pp. 258-9, 444-5) appears quite confused about Aldhelm's earlier years; Ebert (1.623), about 650; Manitius, 1891 (p. 486), about 650; Bönhoff (p. 41), 640-644; Roger (pp. 290-1), about 650. Even as late as 1921, we find R. W. Chambers saying (Beowulf, pp. 331-2): "Nor was Aldhelm's classical knowledge of late growth, superimposed upon an earlier love of popular poetry, for he had studied under Hadrian as a boy" (whereupon he quotes the passage containing the rudis infantiæ).

The question recurs: How shall we interpret rudis infantiæ, and by what means? If we turn to other occurrences in Aldhelm's own writings, we do not get much help. The phrase is found in two other places—Ehwald 67.5 and 262.12. It is only the second of these which sheds a faint light on the difficulty. Gregory Nazianzen is described as "a rudis infantiæ teneritudine corporalis illecebræ contemptor, et zelotipus castitatis amator." Now a moment's reflection will convince one that "infancy" here is not to be taken in its ordinary sense; and a similar conclusion will be reached on comparing the poetic De Virginitate 1055-6, 1061 with the prose of 274.23-275.2.

As for the meaning of *rudis*, this is more easily arrived at. In 2 Chron. 13.7, where the A. V. has "young," the Douay version prefers "unexperienced"; and a rendering like "untried," applied to Adam and Eve in Aldhelm's Riddle 76.4 (*rudibus*... *colonis*), will sufficiently fit that place.

Infantia may perhaps best be interpreted in the light of Wisdom of Solomon 10.21: "Quoniam sapientia aperuit os mutorum, et linguas infantum fecit disertas."

^{8 &}quot;For wisdom opened the mouth of the dumb, and made the tongues of



⁵ In the English translation (4.217, note 2), following the original (5.29, note 2), we have this fairly self-evident proposition: "Aldhelm, who died a septuagenarian in 709, must have been at least twenty in 669 [670], the year in which Adrian landed in England."

^{6&}quot;From the tenderness of unformed infancy, he was a scorner of fleshly allurements, and a zealous lover of chastity."

⁷ See the N.E.D., s.v. rude, 2.a.

Aldhelm, who became a monk at the age of twenty-two, enjoyed for ten years (661-671) the benefit of an education continued from his premonastic life under the same teacher. Mailduf, an immigrant Irishman, who had become abbot of the monastery. Malmesbury, called after his name. Here he had what a teacher from Ireland could give him, but eventually, as we gather from a letter written about fourteen years from the end of this period (685), found it somewhat too limited in range and outlook.¹⁰ Accordingly, he welcomed the opportunity afforded him by the arrival of Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury, and betook himself thither in 671, remaining at the abbey school for something like a year, including a return to Malmesbury on vacation. At Canterbury he formed relations with Hadrian, his new guide, which are indicated in the fragmentary letter¹¹ referred to at the beginning of this paper. The letter is as follows (William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, p. 335 H.: Ehwald 478.12-19):12

Fateor, mi carissime, quem gratia puræ dilectionis amplector, postquam a sodali contubernio vestro ante triennium circiter discedens a Cantia sequestrabar, quod nostra parvitas hactenus ad consortium vestrum ardenti desiderio flagrabat. Quod etiam iamdudum cogitarem, quemadmodum in votis est, ad-

Cicero seems to have been of a different mind, since he speaks (De Orat. 3.35) of "the inability to speak (infantiam) of him who understands his subject, but can not set it forth in words."

Other renderings may be found in Sharon Turner, History of England 3 (1839). 401, G. F. Browne, St. Aldhelm, pp. 77-8.

those that cannot speak eloquent." Aldhelm elsewhere quotes Wisdom 1.6 (Ehwald 480.8). Cf. Jer. 1.6, 7, 8, 9: "Then said I, Ah! Lord God! Behold, I cannot speak; for I am a child (puer). But the Lord said unto me, Say not, I am a child: for thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak. . . Then the Lord put forth his hand, and touched my mouth. And the Lord said unto me, Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth." Add 1 Cor. 13.11.

Cierro seems to have been of a different mind since he masks (De Curt

⁹ Ehwald 488.1-494.5.

¹⁰ Cf. the partial translation in Gaskoin, Alcuin, pp. 16-18.

¹¹ Written, apparently, in the earlier part of 675, before the end of which he succeeded Mailduf as abbot. He was then 36 years of age, and Hadrian probably about 50 (see my paper, "Hadrian of Africa, Italy, and England," Philological Quarterly 2.250).

¹² With some hesitation, I offer this as a translation: "I must own, my dearly beloved, whom I enfold in the grace of a pure affection, that, ever since I was deprived of your friendly companionship on my departure from Kent some three years ago, up to this present moment, my insignificance has glowed with ardent desire for a renewal of fellowship with you. And this, indeed, I have long since been planning to bring about, for the accomplishment of my desires, if, with the regular course of things, unexpected interruptions, and a variety of obstacles, did not prevent me; but especially if I were not hindered by a state of bodily ill-health, in which my wasting limbs are parched to the marrow—the condition which constrained me to depart finally for home, when, after my first course of study with you, I had again returned to Canterbury."

implens perficere, si rerum ratio ac temporum vicissitudo pateretur, et nisi me diversa impedimentorum obstacula retardarent; præsertimque corporeæ fragilitatis valitudine medullitus tabentia membra coquente non sinerer, qua quondam, dum post prima elementa iterum apud vos essem, domum redire coactus sum. . . .

It was Montalembert, we may conclude, followed in this point by Ehwald, who most surely fathomed what was Aldhelm's intention in his use of the phrase rudis infantiæ. Aldhelm had grown to perceive that, under the inspiration of a man richly equipped with the best learning accessible in the period, and gifted with singular penetration, not only into the purposes which it might be made to serve in a country so nearly barbarous, but also into the character and peculiar genius¹³ of each of his more promising pupils, he himself had gained an insight into the possibilities open before him, and clear convictions regarding the various modes in which his talents might be exerted. For him, as the event was to prove, wisdom had opened the mouth of one hitherto dumb, and had made eloquent the tongue that till then had felt itself unable to speak.

ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK

In the death of Professor Albert S. Cook, on September 1, 1927, the Philological Quarterly lost one of its most valued contributors. From the time when the journal was started until his death, with a generosity thoroughly characteristic of him, he aided the editors with encouragement and advice and offered them some of his most finely finished work. The article printed in this issue will carry with it to many readers a vivid realization of the loss that they have sustained. Any verbal tribute to his sterling qualities of mind and heart must seem wholly inadequate, especially to one who came under his influence early as a student, and who profited for years from his sympathetic interest and constant helpfulness. His broad scholarship, fine taste, and high ideals are plainly revealed in everything that he did. That he retained until the end his alert mind and unflagging enthusiasm for his work will make the sudden termination of his labors more keenly felt by scholars the world over. But, fine as his scholarship was, his devoted pupils will remember Professor Cook especially as a teacher and will be conscious of deep obligations that words simply fail to express.

ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON

¹³ On this point, compare his choice of Theodore to be Archbishop, and my remarks in *Phil. Quart.* 2.250-1 (V).



CARAMUEL DE LOBKOWITZ AND HIS COMMENTARY (1668) ON LOPE DE VEGA'S ARTE NUEVO DE HACER COMEDIAS

By Joseph E. Gillet Bryn Mawr College

Juan Caramuel de Lobkowitz (1606-1682) was born in Madrid, the son of Lawrence Caramuel, a gentleman of the famous Polish house of Lobkowitz, and a German mother. Showing extraordinary gifts in early life he developed with amazing rapidity into a mathematician, a theologian, a jurist and a musician of note. He studied philosophy at Alcalá, theology at Salamanca, then at Louvain, where he took the doctor's hood. Entering the Cistercian order, he became in turn abbot of Melrose (then in partibus, of course). abbot of Duisburg, in Prussia, bishop of Campagna, near Naples, and finally bishop of Vigevano, in Lombardy, where he died. An ardent and convincing champion of Rome against the Reformation in the uncertain provinces of Belgium and Germany, a soldier at Louvain, in the Palatinate and in the memorable siege of Prague in 1648, a successful agent of the King of Spain at the court of Emperor Ferdinand III, he completed an eventful life in long, quiet years at Campagna and Vigevano, establishing the reputation of a giant among polygraphers. His destiny, however, was a melancholy one: in his life-time internationally famous, admired for an amazing memory, unequalled learning and versatility; once addressed by Erycius Puteanus as "quasi divine," but eventually withered under the sentence of D. Gregorio Mayáns1: "magis ingeniosus quam judiciosus; magis mirabilis quam utilis." And this verdict has prevailed with Nicéron² and with Paquot,³ to mention only the best-known of those who have given him notice. Caramuel, deficient in judgment,4 was nevertheless a man of encyclo-

¹ Biographie Universelle (Michaud), s.v. Caramuel.

² J. P. Nicéron, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Hommes illustres. Paris, XXIX (1734), pp. 259-278.

³ J. N. Paquot, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des Dix-sept Provinces des Pays-Bas. Louvain, 1762-1770, s.v.

⁴ It is significant that in our town time, although some German, French and

pedic interests and of a striking independence with regard to the ancients. The latter tendency, indeed, partly explains his interest in Lope de Vega's Arte Nuevo de hacer Comedias (1609)⁵. Caramuel's commentary partakes of the general "polyhistorie" character of his work: it is amazingly discursive, disordered and uncritical; but it is alive with interest in contemporary literature and it glows with an almost fanatical worship of Lope.

The commentary on the Arte nuevo forms a part of the second volume of a huge trilogy. The first part, entitled Grammatica, was to cover all known languages, or nearly all. The section devoted to Greek and Latin was published in Rome, Johannes de Falco, 1663, but the rest of the manuscript never found a typesetter who could manage it, and remained unpublished. The second part, entitled Rhythmica and the third, Metametrica, the latter on classical prosody, were published in Rome, 1663.

It may not be without interest to give a few details about the *Metametrica*, for the whole trilogy is somewhat difficult of access. The title-page reads:

IOANNIS CARAMVELIS / PRIMUS / CALAMVS / OB OCVLOS PONENS / METAMETRICAM, / QUAE VARIIS Currentium, Recurrentium, Adscendentium, Descendentium, / nec-non circumvolantium Versuum Ductibus, / AVT AERI INCISOS, AVT BVXO INSCVLPTOS, / AVT PLVMBO INFVSOS, / MVLTIFORMES / LABYRINTHOS / EXORNAT. / (design) [identical with the one in both editions of the Rhythmica.] ROMAE, /—/ Fabias Falconius excudebat Anno M DC L XIII. / Superiorum Consensu. //

Because of the scarcity of Greek and Hebrew type in Rome, this edition was the joint product of five distinct printeries.

After ten sheets of commendatory verses and a *Prodromus* of eighty folio pages, twenty-four steel engravings are found, exhibiting the usual seventeenth-century allegories and all kinds of intricate and absurd metrical curiosities: poems in the shape of labyrinths, of chess-boards, of cubes, of pyxes. There follow a number of parts, all with separate page-numbering. The part entitled *Apollo polyglottus* contains Dutch poems by Janus Secundus, of *Basia*-fame, as well as specimens from German (Ambr. Lobwasser)

⁵ Cf. A. Morel-Fatio's annotated edition, in Bulletin hispanique, III, 365 ff., where a bibliography of all previous editions may be found. Add to these, however, as A. Bonilla y San Martin (Rev. de Archivos, VI, (1902) p. 222) has pointed out, an edition by Manuel de Villanueva, in his Origen, épocas y progresos del teatro español, Madrid, 1802; also the Hispanic Society's facsimile of the Rimas together with the Arte nuevo, N. Y., 1903, and a reprint by C. G. Crocetti (Testi Romanzi per uso delle scuole) Rome, Loescher, 1915.



Spanish encyclopedias still take cognizance of him, he has no place in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

and French (Du Bartas), but with this exception the whole book (also the *Apollo sepulchralis*[!]) is concerned only with Greek and Hebrew poetry.

The first edition of the Rhythmica appeared in 1665:

IOANNIS CARAMVELIS / PRIMVS / CALAMVS. / TOMVS II. / OB OCVLOS EXHIBENS / RHYTHMICAM. / QUAE / Hispanicos, Italicos, Gallicos, Germanicos, &. / Versus metitur, eosdemque Concentu exornans, / viam aperit ut Orientales / possint Populi / conformare, aut etiam reformare / propios numeros. / (Design, showing a winged angel standing over a sphere through the center of which passes a sunbeam.) APVD SANCTVM ANGELVM DELLA FRATTA, / Ex. Typographia Episcopali Satrianensi. M.DC.LXV. /—/ Svperiorvm permissv. // fol., 585 pp.

It was notably increased three years later in the second edition, where the commentary to Lope's treatise first appeared:

IOANNIS CARAMVELIS / PRIMVS / CALAMVS / TOMVS II. / OB OCVLOS EXHIBENS / RHYTHMICAM, / QUAE / Hispanicos, Italicos, Gallicos, Germanicos, &. Versus metitur, / eosdemque Concentu exornans, viam aperit, ut Orientales / possint Populi (Hebraei, Arabes, Turcici, Persici, Indici / Sinenses, Iaponici, &.) conformare, aut etiam / reformare propios Numeros. / EDITIO SECVNDA. / Duplo auctior. / Diversis, iisque necessariis Indicibus locupletata. / [Same design as in the first edition.] / CAMPANIAE, /——/Ex Officina Episcopali. 1668. Superiorum permissu. // [Fol.; 6 unnumbered sheets, xlviii pp. of introduction, and 749 numbered pages.]6

Of course Caramuel's work is far from being unknown, especially the commentary to Lope. Casiano Pellicer was perhaps the first to quote from this, in translation, and Count von Schack was the first (and only one) to reproduce several passages in the original text. These, as noted, appear translated in Mier's version of Schack and have since been quoted more than once. Menéndez y Pelayo has summarily described the *Calamus* and has reprinted, from an abstract by a third hand, the substance of Caramuel's six critical propositions, while the Conde de la Viñaza has drawn

⁶ This edition was issued from the private press which Caramuel had operated since 1657 at Campagna. There are copies in the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Madrid and in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris. But no edition is mentioned in the printed catalogue (without the accessions) of the British Museum.

⁷ Tratado histórico, Madrid 1804, giving the anecdote about Juan Rana, later repeated after Pellicer by Cotarelo, Colección de entremeses, I, clvii ff.

⁸ Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur u. Kunst in Spanien. Nachträge. Frankfurt a. M. 1854, p. 25: "Autor de Comedias apud Hispanos . . . ut notabat Horatius." (Mier's translation II, 224-25); p. 28: Scenarum mutationes Hispani . . indoctorum oculi delectantur. (Mier, II, 257); p. 64: "Arias habet vocem claram . . . loquendo admirationem extorsit" (Mier, IV, 91-92).

⁹ Cf. Sánchez Arjona, Anales del teatro en Sevilla, Sevilla, 1898, pp. 303-304; Rennert, The Spanish Stage, N. Y., 1909, pp. 86, 163 etc.

¹⁰ Hist. de las ideas estéticas en España (2nd ed.) Madrid, 1890 ff., III, 473.

attention to what may be of interest, in both the Metametrica and the Rhythmica, from a grammatical point of view.11 More recently still, the late Morel-Fatio made some reference to Caramuel's commentary and utilized Caramuel's text of the Arte nuevo in the preparation of a critical edition. 12 Even now Caramuel's Metrica is still occasionally mentioned.13 The personality of the author has been much dimmed, however, by time, too much, indeed, if we wish to preserve a correct impression of the main event in the history of criticism during the Golden Age, viz. the struggle between the neo-classicists: Alonso López (El Pinciano), Cascales, González de Salas, and the champions of the new comedia: Carlos Boyl, Ricardo de Turia, Tirso and others.14

To restore to the curious figure of Caramuel some of the clearness of outline in which he appeared to his contemporaries will not be useless then; neither will it be amiss to reprint from the original text of his commentary the passages repeatedly quoted, although mostly at second or third hand, by literary historians, as well as other passages not at all lacking in interest but until now overlooked.15

The Rhythmica opens with a generous offering of commendatory verses, Italian sonnets and Latin anagrammata, an index of poems quoted and an index of proper names, all of which is lacking in the first edition. After several epistolas the author begins in earnest

¹¹ Biblioteca histórica de la filología castellana, Madrid, 1893, cols. 972-976. The pagination of the various parts of the Metametrica on cols. 972 f. The author remarks on the Rhythmica: "Toda la obra, aunque muy desordenada, contiene materiales preciosos para nuestra historia literaria; pero como es libro todo de detalles, no es posible dar idea de él en breve extracto." (col. 976). He mistakes, however, the Rhythmica for a 'second edition' of the Metametrica.

^{[12} Bulletin hispanique III, 365 ff.]
13 For instance Rodríguez Marín in his edition of Guevara's Diablo cojuelo, 13 For instance Rodríguez Marín in his edition of Guevara's Diablo Cojuelo, p. 24 quotes his etymology of Xácara. Morel-Fatio referred to him in the introduction to his edition of the Cancionero General of 1554 (L'Espagne au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle, 1878, p. 494 n.) The Italian metrist Giovenale Sacchi appealed to Caramuel's authority in support of his own theories (Della divisione del tempo etc. 1770, cf. Zampière, The Italian Source of Antonio Scoppa's Theory on French Versification, in Romanic Review, XIV, 307.) For a while Caramuel was remembered among the hispano-latin poets of his time; cf. Ad. de Castro, BAE, XIII, p. xxxvii.

¹⁴ See besides the standard work of Menéndez y Pelayo, and Morel-Fatio's edition of the Arte neuvo, the latter's Les Défenseurs de la comedia, in Bulletin hisp., IV, 30-62, and for handy consultation H. J. Chaytor's anthology, Dramatic Theory in Spain, Cambridge (England) 1925. Cf. MLN, XLII (1927), 47-50.

¹⁵ The text is reprinted diplomatically.

with the letters and syllables. There are interesting indications on pronunciation and accentuation, abundant quotations from Góngora, Garcías Coronel, Camoens, as well as from Dante, Tasso and Ariosto. Book II discusses seguidillas, romances, xácaras, coplas de ciego, canciones, madrigales, sonetos and what not, all in the spirit and sometimes in close imitation of Rengifo¹⁶ but with occasionally an interesting addition, and above all with abundant illustrations, mostly from contemporary poets. This is the most remarkable feature of the book, a novelty altogether, with the possible exception of Bartolomé Patón's Eloquencia española (1604). Book III, which seems to be an 'omnium gatherum,' mostly trash, is followed by a number of epistles, one (pp. 587-650) discussing Quevedo's ideas on poetry, with long quotations from Quevedo's poems.¹⁷ After a number of very short epistles on various subjects, the reader finally comes to the commentary on Lope's Arte Nuevo, which forms one but the last Epistola (Nr. XXI) and occupies twenty-eight pages (690-718).

The keynote of Caramuel's lucubrations is the pragmatic sentence: "Ille est melior scribendi aut etiam agendi modus, qui magis placet populo." The theatre-goer, who decides the success or failure of a play, the mosquetero, may be ignorant, but he must be served. To have recognized this and to have modified the traditional rules in a manner leading to conspicuous success is to Caramuel sufficient proof of Lope's superiority: "Optimus Magister Comoedias condendi fuit Lupus!" This vigorous endorsement by an almost contemporary scholar of unequalled prestige at the time must be considered as an important fact.

Menéndez y Pelayo¹⁸ has called Lope's *Arte nuevo* a "lamentable palinody." "A pallid and pedantic dissertation," says Morel-Fatio¹⁹ later endorsed by Farinelli.²⁰ And indeed, the *Arte nuevo*, incoherent, stuffed with undigested tags, and mingling affected humility with a kind of shame-faced effrontery, has been somewhat of a puzzle to critics and still leaves the modern reader, who takes

¹⁶ J. Díaz Rengifo, Arte poética española, first ed., Salamanca, 1592. Really the work of his brother, Diego García Rengifo.

¹⁷The manner in which, during his student days at Salamanca, Caramuel became acquainted with Quevedo by playing a joke on him, is recalled by Sarmiento in the Semanario erudito, VI (1758) 177 f.

¹⁸ Hist. de las ideas estéticas, III, 433, 443.

¹⁹ Bull. hisp. III, 372.

²⁰ Archiv, CIX, 459.

the work at all seriously, with a sense of frustration. But Caramuel's opinion that Lope, instead of a time-server, must be accounted a pioneer with a superior sense of new conditions and requirements, clears the critical atmosphere.

To be sure, Caramuel's conviction is perhaps quite as much the expression of a whole-hearted sympathy (it is not known that he was personally acquainted with the dramatist) as the result of informed and critical judgment. Indeed, it must be confessed that, while Lope's erudition was borrowed from the Roman grammarian Donatus and from Robortello's commentary on Aristotle, Caramuel's was even scantier.

And it would be difficult to say which one of the two was the more uncritical.²¹ Caramuel's only authority seems to be a curious contemporary encyclopedia, compiled by a polygrapher only less formidable than himself, one Johannes Henricus Alstedius, and published in 1649.²² This probably contains the most condensed survey ever published of the Renaissance poetics of the drama and fairly bristles with the traditional terms.²³

The introduction of Caramuel's commentary contains the first authentic account of the anecdote about the cobbler Sánchez, most famous of the *mosqueteros*, which is here placed about the year 1650:

In Theatro Iudex est Vulgus improbum, & analphabetum quod fulgur non distinguit à fulmine, quod conceptus non penetrat, sed insolenti tantùm verborum transpositione delectatur.²⁴



²¹ It is indicative of Caramuel's uncritical sense that from all German manuals on poetics of the seventeenth century he chose the worst, although a popular one, viz., the so-called *Poetica Giessena*, produced by some professors of the University of Giessen (Chr. Helwig, Conrad Buchner and others): *Poetica latina*, 1614, 1617, 1624, 1657.

tatina, 1614, 1617, 1624, 1657.

22 Ioan. Henrici / Alstedii / Scientiarym / omnium / Encyclopoedia / . . .

Lvgdvni, Sumptibus Ioannis Antonii Hvgvetan Filij, / & Marci Antonii Ravavd, / . . . M.DC.X. LIX. 4 vols, folio. In the middle of a bewildering farrago de omni re scibili et quibusdam aliis, the theory of the drama occupies, at the end of Vol. III, in Book XXX, among the "Loci mechanologiae Mathematicae," a modest part of the section on pædeutica, where, after the game of chess and a reprint of Vida's poem about it, some games of cards and other diversions, it is given one and a half pages (fols. 709-710), just before an impressive warning against dice. Alstedius was a Protestant theologian, born in 1588, who died as professor at Weissenburg in 1638.

23 Another column (vol. I. p. 624) in Book X. Chapter XIII first section.

²³ Another column (vol. I, p. 624), in Book X, Chapter XIII, first section of the *Poetics*, Part VIII, entitled *De poëmate dramatico sunt hi canones*, while occasionally giving information repeated later on, is little concerned with technique. Caramuel has used it sparingly.

²⁴ Exactly Lope's own idea, as expressed in the prologue to Parte XVI

Pergo ulterius & moneo non intelligere Cives; hi enim Comoediam audiunt, placeat, aut displiceat, modestè; non Artium nobiliorum magistros, nam Mercatores, Aurifices, Architecti, Pictores, Statuarii, &c. sunt divites, & in actionibus suis gravitatem observant. Sed quos tandem intelligo ? Sartores, Sutores, Circumpedes, Rusticos, Aurigas, Rhedarios, & similes, quos propter strepitum, quem excitant, Comoediae Mosquetarios vocamus, & illis sub 1650. se praefecerat Sanchez, calceorum refector (Hispan. gapatero de viejo) homo vilis, & audax, quem Poëtae omnes habere propitium conabantur. Et quantâ iste severitate pronunciaret: poteris ex casu sequenti colligere.

Titius Poëta ingeniosus composuerat Comediam, que erat exhibenda in theatro, & ab optimis personis, ut Hispanus loquitur, praesentanda. Et, quia Mosquetariorum improbitatem verebatur, Sanchezium visitare decrevit, & suam causam illius benignitati commendare. Convenit hominem: quem urbanissimis verbis devincire conatus; illam esse Comoediam, primum ingenii sui foetum, & ab illâ suam famam, & aestimationem dependere inculcabat. Audivit Poëtam humillimè loquentem obducto supercillio Sutor, & illum dimisit istis verbis. Vaya vs.m. muy consolado: y esté seguro, que se le hará justicia—ne severiùs, aut superbiùs potuisset respondere Cato? Habui à D. Friquetio, Viro Eruditissimo, Interlegato Imperatoris, Titii amico; qui, ut suâ authoritate devin-

ciret Sanchezium, Titium comitabatur25

The body of the commentary, made up of a series of disjointed and disordered notas, some without any relation to the subject, many entirely without interest, will most easily be grouped in the logical arrangement of the old formal poetics: I. Definitions. II. Partes qualitatis, including subject-matter, characters, action and expression. III. Partes quantitatis, covering the various schemes of internal and external division. IV. Matters of practical performance, such as length and duration of the play, scenery and acting. Only points which appear to have retained some value for literary history will be touched upon.

It is best, however, first to consider, outside of any systematic arrangement, the characteristic set of six laws laid down by Caramuel for writers of *comedias*.

^{(1622);: &}quot;Pues nadie se podrá persuadir con mediano entendimiento que la mayor parte de las mujeres que aquel jaulon encierra [referring to the so-called cazuela de las mujeres] y de los ignorantes que asisten á los bancos, entienden los versos, las figuras retóricas, los conceptos y sentencias, las imitaciones y el grave ó comun estilo."

²⁵ François Bertaut (Relation de l'estat & gouvernement d'Espagne 1666, p. 60) tells a similar anecdote: "On m'a conté d'un [Autheur] qui alla trouver un de ces Mosqueteros, & luy offrit cent realles pour estre favorable à sa Piece. Mais il respondit fierement que l'on verroit, si la piece seroit bonne ou non, & elle fut sifflée."

Mme d'Aulnoy (Relation du Voyage d'Espagne (1679) La Haye, 1693, III, p. 21) repeats the anecdote in practically identical terms. See also Rennert, l.c. 121. It is probably this fear of the mosqueteros which accounts for the curious ending of Lope's Los Ramilletes de Madrid (1615), where Fabio, the gracioso, promises to make up for the author's failure to mention the lackeys (los señores lacayos) in the relación de la jornada de Irún, which Lope managed to force into the last act of the play. For other mentions of the mosqueteros cf. Cervantes, Comedia de la entretenida, III, p. 84 of the edition Schevill-Bonilla, where further references are given.

PRIMA. Omnia, quae in Comoedia repraesentantur, esse debent possibilia, tam in sensu diviso, quam in composito. This last means: considered as part of the whole; e.g.: what might be possible in itself in one act, might not be so in relation with another act of the same play.

SEGUNDA. Lex, quae jubet, ut tantùm duabus horis repraesentetur id, quod potuit accidere duabis horis, etsi ab Aristotele lata dicatur, vana est.²⁶ The poet takes the vast world and reduces it "ad breve proscenium," not a large place, since "vix 50. pedes Tabulatum, seu Proscenium excedit."²⁷

TERTIA. Lex, quae, aut loquentium, aut canentium Personarum numerum determinat, vana est. 28

QUARTA. Actus tres in omni Comoediâ sufficiunt. Division into many acts and scenes (also used, Caramuel believed, in antiquity) is superfluous. There are three essential parts in a comedy, to which the acts should correspond: Protasis, Epitasis and Catastasis.²⁹

QUINTA. Ille est melior Comoedias scribendi aut etiam agendi modus, qui magis placet populo. The comment pungently adds

²⁶ Aristotle, of course, only mentioned μίαν περίοδον 'ηλιου as an approximate standard, adding: ἤ μπρὸν εξαλλάττειν (''or a little above''); and this limit, first conceived by Robortelli (1548) as an artificial day of twelve hours, was sometimes narrowed down to as little as 4-5 hours (Ingegneri, 1598), but was never taken as a law of exact equivalence between the time taken by the events and their representation on the stage.

²⁷ This may give a more specific idea of the stage which as Schack (ap. Rennert, l.c. 85) observed "was not nearly so deep as that of the modern theatre, but was rather wide." The author, I assume, refers to the 'pie de Castilla,' a little over 27.85 cm. (Zerolo).

²⁸ Outside of Horace's precept limiting to three the number of *speakers* in any one scene ("Nec quarta loqui persona laboret." Ars poetica 1. 192) there was no such law. To be sure Giraldi (1554) had protested against any arbitrary limitation in the number of actors and Ingegneri (1598) maintained that no play should have more than twelve parts. But it is unlikely that Caramuel knew of these theories.

²⁹ As Alstedius III, 709 has it: "Partes primariae sunt Protasis, Epitasis & Catastrophe qui nomine dicuntur Actus." If Alstedius meant by this that there were to be only three acts, as he seems to imply, his position is an exceptional one. Most writers on critical theory of the time have laboured to adapt in some way the inner tri-partite division to the external five-act form, by dragging in the prologue, and adding, like Scaliger, a fourth part, the catastasis. But Caramuel naturally availed himself of a text in defence of the three-act form. In practice the five-act division prevailed in Spain until Juan de la Cueva, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, put the fouract form into fashion for a short time. But the three-act comedia, whether invented by Avendaño (1551), Artieda, Virués or Cervantes, prevailed early in the seventeenth century.

that if the rules result in displeasure to the audience, they are not rules, but mistakes!

SEXTA. Optimus Magister Comoedias condendi fuit Lupus.30

Ι

Caramuel's definition of tragedy (Nota I), obviously framed by himself and with little of the traditional phraseology of the Latin grammarians, over-emphasizes, no doubt, the didactic aim, but refers to historicity and weightiness of subject-matter, social rank of the characters and the dramatic nature of the presentation, and thus may well hold its own with other less independent contemporary definitions. It may be worth quoting: "Est . . . viva quaedam historia (realis, moralisve) quae egregia illustrium Virorum repraesentat facinora; ut, dum videmus oculis, & aure audîmus. quae alii gloriosè fecerint, eorum exemplo ad virtutum prosequutionem, & exercitium accendamur, illosque in actibus gloriosis imitemur." Nothing is said here about the ending, but in Nota III. where the point is specifically discussed "quid tragoedia sit, & quomodo à Comoediâ distinguatur," this omission is explained by the statement, startling to the classicist, that comedy may have either a happy or unhappy ending. The explanation lies in a new meaning of the word comedy, which to Caramuel appears to have already the broader implication of the Spanish comedia. the commentator here one step beyond the "commentee." speaking from the vantage point of a later date, when consequences had become manifest which Lope, who was mainly responsible for them, had only dimly realized. Unlike other countries Spain indulged in no sharp struggle to counteract the always threatening fusion of comedy and tragedy, or at least to limit the area of interpenetration by establishing an intermediary zone labeled tragi-comedy. Instead, Spain allowed the meaning of comedia to broaden out to include eventually all drama of standard proportions and left to pure tragedy, always scantily represented, a small field of relative autonomy within the wide borders of the comedia. Or, as Caramuel put it: "Omnis . . . tragoedia est Comoedia, non contrà."

Caramuel's definition of the *entremes* in one instance (*Nota* XVII) refers to the interludes, probably in school-plays, witnessed by him in Germany:

³⁰ A conclusion strongly reminiscent of the last of Alfonso Sánchez' six propositions in defence of Lope de Vega. Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, l.c. II, 434.

Sunt ridicula aliquorum rusticorum colloquia: vel ingeniosa tripudia: aut etiam melos artificiosè decantatum: aut instrumentalis musicae sine humanae concentu melodia, aut aliquid aliud, pro patria moribus; nam Spirae anno 1644. Comoediae â Magistratu datae interfui, in quâ actum ab actu Consulum separabat humanitas, qui propinabant Civibus, & dabatur vinum optimum, ut ad Consulum salutem biberent, quantum vellent.31

Speaking of the Spanish entremes (Nota XVIII) he describes it as "Comoedia brevis, in qua Actores ingeniose nugantur." In his treatment of the satyric drama (Nota II) Caramuel, in spite of Alstedius, commits the mistake, frequent among Renaissance critics, of confusing it with the non-dramatic satire. 32

TT

Caramuel (*Nota* I) disagreed with Lope on the necessity of truth for the subject-matter of tragedy. On the question of good and evil, (*Nota* II), that is, the moral aspect of dramatic subject-matter, Caramuel takes a fairly liberal standpoint if one considers much of the controversial writing of the time.³³ As to the social standing of characters he consistently favours a mingling of high and low degree within either tragedy or comedy. (*Notas* III and XXIV). From a theological point of view he considers the introduction of Christ on the stage as a sacrilege³⁴ and condemns the ancients for allowing gods to impersonate criminals (*Nota* XXIV).

³¹ For some early instances where beer, not wine, was offered by the Town-council to the players (usually students repeating a school-play, by request, outside the school) see Bolte, Märkische Forschungen, XVIII, 203 (Spandau, 1571) or Begemann, Annalen des Friedrich-Wilhelm Gymnasiums zu Neuruppin, Berlin, 1915, p. 8 (Neuruppin, 1577).

³² The confusion between the Greek satyric drama and the Latin satura was generally induced by the latter's connection, through Lucilius, with the Greek comoedia vetus. Cf. R. J. E. Tiddy, "Satura and Satire," in English Literature and the Classics, ed. G. S. Gordon, Oxford, 1912.

³³ Cf. Cotarelo, Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España, Madrid, 1904.

³⁴ This feeling, which has found early and strong expression in Protestant countries (Cf. The German Dramatist of the sixteenth century and his Bible, PMLA, XXXIV (1919) 481 ff.) also existed in Spain, but in practice seems to have been ignored. Lucas Fernández, to be sure, seems to take special care to introduce neither Jesus nor Mary, even in his Auto de la Pasión. But otherwise we find the adult Christ and even God the Father appearing in dozens of plays. (e.g. Pedro Altamirando's La Aparicion que hiso Nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo a los dos discipulos que yvan a Emaus (1523, Rom. Rev. XIII); Palau's Victoria de Christo (1570) and his Custodia del Hombre, and numerous autos of Rouanet's collection: I, 14, 317, 431, 465; II, 403, 438, 449, 479; III, 52, 84, 222, 412; IV, 62, 72, 106 etc.) and sometimes these characters are treated with amazing coarseness. An extreme example of this, no doubt, is the Aucto de la Resurrecion de Nuestro Señor (Rouanet IV, 66 ff.) The Christ-child is led in by the hand in Juan de Caxés's Los trabajos de Joseph

On the interpretation of Lope's much-discussed passage concerning engañar con la verdad Caramuel brings no positive enlightenment, but it seems clear (Nota XXVIII: "An in Comoediâ sint fallendi Auditores") that Caramuel, like Morel-Fatio, considers engañar con la verdad as a matter of plot, not to be confused (and perhaps not even to be connected) with the hablar equivoco which Lope mentions immediately afterwards.

One of the traditional endings of the *entremeses* is alluded to: "explicit fustibus" (*Nota* IX),³⁵ customary when they did not end with "barbería, guitarricas y cantico" or, as in the later ones, with a dance.

As to expression, he remarks (Nota XVI) that verse is not necessary in a comedy although "Multae in Italiâ, paucae in Hispaniâ Comoediae fiunt in prosâ. Interim, Lupus de Rueda aliquas dedit, & in lucem emisit, quae metro carent." But after all: "est metrum Comoediae accidens, quod, si adsit, addit gracias, & non obest si absit."

⁽¹⁶⁰⁹⁾ and both Christ and the Virgin appear in the anonymous Nacimiento y Vida de Judas. (1590 [*] Cf. Rev. hisp. LXV, (1925) 327 ff.). But there was evidently a certain prejudice against it. In a Passion-play at Seville in 1579, in which ludicrous incidents seem to have occurred (Cf. Pfandl, Archiv, vol. 194 [1925], p. 84) no one could be found to take the part of Christ. In 1616 Francisco Cascales declared: "mal hecho es sacar en el theatro a la Virgen María y a Dios: que ¿ quién osará imitarle y representarle?" (Tablas poéticas, [1616], Madrid, 1779, p. 11). A glance at Pedroso's collection of autos (BAE, t. 58) will show, however, that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were probably less inclined than the sixteenth to bring sacred characters on the stage. (Six cases in 24 autos in the sixteenth century, only one in 27 autos for the period opening with Lope). The protest of Vives against the irreverence of Passion-plays in his commentary on Augustine's De Civitate Dei, 1522 (Cf. Bonilla, Luis Vivés, Madrid, 1903, who quotes it from the Basle ed. of 1555) was taken up later by Juan de Pineda (1581), Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola (1598), Juan de Mariana (De Spectaculis, Colon., 1609, later translated by himself (*) as Tratado contra los juegos publicos, Obras, BAE, XXXI, 426), Fr. Alonso de Ribera (1626), Camargo (1689) and others. (Cf. Cotarelo, Bibliografía; Rennert, The Spanish Stage, p. 260 ff.) Mostly these protests were specifically based on the known immorality of the actors and actresses. In modern times, in the Spanish provinces, the difficulty seems to have been solved in a curious way, best illustrated by Valera's description of a Holy Week procession in Andalusia: "Los seres humanos, sin duda no se juzgan dignos de representar à los seres divinos, ni se creen idóneos para ello y temen profanar la acción, interviniendo en ella inmediatemente. De aquí que todos los momentos del alto misterio de la redención se figuren por medio de imágenes que se llevan en andas, y cuyos movimientos silencio

³⁵ Cf. Cervantes, Nov. ex., ed. Rodríguez Marín, II, 327; Quevedo, Sueños, ed. Cejador, I, 68, 277.

³⁶ Quevedo, l.c., I, 278.

III

Among the canons of internal and external division the various kinds of prologues are discussed³⁷ and, incidentally, Caramuel's German experience (for Latin school-plays, to be sure) of printed argumenta in the vernacular, distributed among the audience "ut Auditores scient, quid a comicis in singulis actibus sit expectandum." The loa is mentioned: "Hodie etiam Prologus Comoediis Hispanis praemittitur, vocatur Loa: quia profunditur in Auditorum laudes."

"Actus est id, quod hodie vocamus jornada: & jam praescripsit consuetudo ut Comoedia nonnisi tres actus habeat, & duabis horis repraesentetur" (Nota XVIII). The number of acts had already been referred to in the fourth of the "six propositions."

As to scenes, when does a new scene begin and end? : "Scena durat, quamdiu non egrediuntur omnes personae ex theatro, ut vel finiatur actus, aut introductis aliis nova scena incipiatur." This, of course, does not refer to the division into numbered scenes in the prints, which did not become general in Spain until after the middle of the eighteenth century. Caramuel describes the Spanish custom of allowing a group of characters to leave the stage while a different group is entering, a practice which the stricter French classical practice would avoid, as an infringement of the law against the empty stage.

TV

However, to Caramuel, the practical side of play-construction and staging was apparently of greatest interest. For instance, the question of the length of a play (*Nota* XVIII):

Iubet Lupus, ut duodecim folia contineat⁴⁰ sed non instrueris, quia pauca possunt in multis foliis scribi, si character sit laxus: plurima si minutus. Ergo sit tibi Regula. Tres Actus habeat Comoedia, & in singulis tot versus, quot

³⁷ According to Alstedius and, ultimately, Evanthius-Donatus (*De fabula*, VII, 2). It is the current classification of the century. See e.g. González de Salas, *Nueva idea de la tragedia antigua* (1633) Madrid, 1778, I, 270.

³⁸ Examples in Goedeke, Grundriss d. Gesch. d.d. Dichtung, II (1886) 553.

³⁹ As Góngora said in a loa:

^{...} En vez de prólogo quiero,
Pues lo llama España loa,
Ofender suavemente
Las orejas siempre sordas
De tu prudencia al encanto
De la mágica lisonja, ...

Romances (XXXI) BAE, XXXIII, 514.

⁴º Cf. Rennert-Castro, Vida de Lope de Vega, Madrid, 1919, p. 190 n. 2; Cotarelo, Ensayo sobre la vida de D. Pedro Calderon, Madrid, 1924, p. 115.

recitare possis media horâ. Durabit itaque sesquihoram recitatio: unde si addas musicam, intermedium, tripudium, Comoedia ad duas horas perveniet.

The duration of a performance varies apparently with the nationality. The "wrath of a seated Spaniard" is no standard for Germans: "Pendet Resolutio à patientiâ Auditorum. In Germaniâ sunt rarae, & interdum per quinque, vel sex horas protractae: at illas non audiet Hispanus, qui ultra duas horas non vult interesse theatro." Caramuel's list of technical terms will perhaps bear repeating:

Author de Comedias apud Hispanos non est, qui illas scribit, aut recitat, sed qui comicos alit, & singulis solvit convenientia stipendia.42

⁴² Auctor, autor in the early sixteenth century seems to have meant 'author,' in the modern sense:

crean señores de mi si el auctor en algo erro que por ignorantia si pero por malicia no. Torres Naharro, Tinellaria, Argumento.

Later it might also mean 'actor':

Cuando hagas Comoedias, ve sugeto al Arte, i no al Autor que la recita.

(Cueva, Exemplar poético, (1606) Epist. III, l. 655 ff., Walberg's ed. p. 111.)

Cervantes, in the *Quixote* (I, 48) speaks of "los autores que las componen [las comedias] y los autores que las representan," but in this last passage representar may more easily be interpreted as produce than Cueva's recitar. Lope in the Arte nuevo l. 352 evidently refers to the producer. Thus in Luis Enriquez

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⁴¹ This was true enough for German school-plays, which Caramuel probably had in mind. The Englishman John Dury, who visited a Jesuit-college in Germany in 1645 found plays lasting usually from four to five hours. (Cf. Corcoran, Studies in the History of Classical teaching, p. 236.) This agrees with the instructions of the Jesuits' Ratio studiorum of 1593 (4 hours. Cf. Pachtler, Die Ratio studiorum, I, 313) and with the precepts of Alexander Donatus (1633). The Jesuit Masenius (1657) recommended two to three hours, but in practice, especially when elaborate scenery was used, performances often lasted five to six hours. The situation was very similar with plays outside the schools. The Italian critics varied in their opinions, Giraldi (1554) would have a tragedy last four hours, Minturno (1559) three, Ingegneri (1598) as long as five hours. In Spain two to three seems to have been the rule in the seventeenth century. Lope himself (Farinelli, Archiv, CIX, 467) on one occasion (in El Fingido Verdadero) spoke of one hour and a half. Tarrega (La perseguida Amaltea, ap. Milego, El teatro en Toledo, p. 79) asked for two, while Loa 8, of Comedias de Lope, Amberes, 1607, requested silence "por tres horas no cabales" (ap. Cotarelo, Entremeses II, 404). But the second Loa (Ibid. II, 400) promised "de aquí á dos horas saldremos." The loa of one of the Doce comedias de poetas valencianos, Barcelona 1609 claims "dos horas y media o tres" (Ibid. II, 410) and this agrees with the advice of Cascales: "tres horas, poco más o menos" (Tablas poéticas, 1616, p. 176) and a passage of Suárez de Figueroa, who refers to "aquellas tres horas, ya de suspension, ya de regozijo" (El Passagero, ed. R. S. Rose, p. 61). Yet, in 1646 Luis Crespi de Borja mentioned "aquellas dos horas que dura la comedia." Sermón de las Comedias, reprinted in Respuesta a una consulta, etc. 1683, p. 30).

Escritor de Comedias ille est, qui illas componit, & dat Comicis representandas. Compañia de Comediantes est illorum societas, qui sunt ad Comocdiam agendam necessarii. Ad quorum etiam numerum spectant personae mutae, quae in obsequiis humilioribus serviunt, & ipsi vocantur metesillas³³ quia sellas in theatrum important, &, quando non sunt necessariae, ne fortè impediant, extrahunt. Primer Papel, Segundo Papel, dicitur, qui agit primam, qui secundam personam. Prima persona solet esse Rex, aut Regina. Interím, qui primus est inter Comicos, habet jus, ut eligat, & agat personam, quam velit. Theatrum erat locus, in quo agebantur Comediae, Hispanicè el corral, aut el patio vocatur. Scena, & Proscenium, duo erant loca, quae non bene explicantur.

Caramuel was especially puzzled by Alstedius' definition of scena as "umbraculum . . . quo se histriones conferebant." He therefore suggested: "Erat igitur Scena Hisp. el Vestuario: locus clausus, in quo se vestiant Comici, & ad agendum se praeparant: Proscenium veró erat Hisp. el Tablado, locus in quo Fabulae representabantur."

In Caramuel's opinion (*Nota* XIV) the refusal of the Spaniards (in his youth, of course) to follow the elaborate staging of plays as practised in Italy was a mistake. The ignorant public must be pleased by means which it can understand, therefore:

seu doctis, seu indoctis scribantur Comoediae, debent Scenae mutari, & apparentiae, quas vocant, admitti: illarum enim varietate doctorum, & indoctorum oculi delectantur. Venetiis enim, ubi magnifico apparatu Comoediae fiunt, submergi montes, nasci ex herbis Palatia, maria in hortos converti, obduci coelum nubibus, tonare, pluere, ningere, à summo olympo Iovem in nube aureâ descendere, ab aquilâ Ganymedem rapi, & ad coelos deferri, & his similia, summa delectatione videt, doctus, indoctus; simulque in unum dives & pauper.

Cardanus⁴⁵ is quoted in approval of the scenery used at Venice for the performance in 1648 in Honor of Philip of Spain, and elaborate costuming is advocated: "Vestium ditissimarum mutatio ad majorem Comoediae majestatem conducit: nam Comicae solent

⁽an admirer of Caramuel), Ocios de los estudios, Naples 1683: "no quise que se representase [la comedia], y la recogi, pagando al Auctor de los Comediantes la costa hecha en cuanto la estudiaron" (ap. Gallardo, Ensayo, IV, 1155)

^{43 &}quot;Mozos de los que llaman metemuertos y sacasillas . . . " as Avellaneda, Don Quijote, Cap. XXVI (BAE, XVIII, 82) jokingly says.

⁴⁴ Caramuel was unacquainted with the mediaeval conception of scenae as little houses or compartments (umbracula) on the stage, where the actors were supposed to wait for their turn. As Hugutius, Liber Derivationum (12th c.) had it: "In umbraculo latebant personae larvatae, quae ad vocem recitatoris exigebantur ad gestus faciendos." Cf. the illustration on p. 287 of Hermann, Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte des Mittelatters und der Renaissance, Berlin, 1914. Badius (Josse Bade, the Lyon printer) still had it in his Prenotamenta to his Terence-editions: "Scenae autem erant umbracula seu absconsoria." (1500 (?) and later.)

⁴⁵ De subtilitate (1550). Reprinted in my article Was Secchi's Gl' Inganni performed before Philip of Spain? MLN, XXXV (1920), p. 396.

in singulis Actibus (Hisp. en cada jornada) diversis ornatae indumentis prodire."

Caramuel is mostly remembered by his anecdotes of actors and actresses, Osorillo, Arias and Amaryllis, Riquelme and Juan Rana. He also refers to singers, namely (Nota XI) Florianus⁴⁶ and Alfonsîris.⁴⁷ About the latter he tells the following not unamusing anecdote: Once, as the singer was beginning a romance, the spectators shouted: "Cante solo Alfonsîris." Conceiving this request as a compliment, Alfonsiris dismissed his two companions and began to sing alone, but the public became louder and more insistent. So the singer, stopping: "Ya estoy Señores solo."—Et vulgus impatiens reponit No está aquí solo: mas vayase a cantar, donde esté solo: donde nadie le oiga."

Of Diego Osorio de Velasco, a celebrated gracioso, 48 the following anecdote (Nota X) has apparently not been recalled since Caramuel:

Osorellus, celeber Comicus, ingenioso lepôre Auditores recreabat. Quâdam die, cum Comoedia inciperet, in proscenium ingressus, extraxit longissimam chartam, & pulchro carmine occoepit murmurare de Comicis, qui frangunt caput, ut memoriae mandent carmina, quae possent legere. Se velle dormire, relinquere coeteris, ut studeant & fatigentur, quantum velint, &c. Acta Comoedia fuit: coeteri suos versus recitarunt memoriter, & illis Osorellus respondebat legende, intersendo lepóres, v. gr. Exspectet. Hic una littera male formata. Modó debeo divinare, quia charta est rupta, & alios similes.

Of Arias (Nota XI) it is said:49

Profectó, Arias habebat vocem claram, & puram, memoriam firmam, & actionem vivacem: & quidquid ipse diceret in singulis linguae motibus Charites, & in singulis manuum videbatur habere Apollines. Ad eum audiendum confluebant Excellentissimi Concionatores, ut dictionis, & actionis perfectionem addiscerent.

The power of mimicry of Arias is illustrated as follows (Nota XII):

Madriti semel Arias sibi legens epistolam in theatrum ingressus, longo tempore habuit Auditores suspensos: ad singulas lineas percellebatur: & demum furore percitus, laceravit epistolam, & incepit exclamare vehementissima carmina. Et tametsi laudaretur ab omnibus, majorem illa die agendo, quam loquendo admirationem extorsit.

^{46 &}quot;Cantante de los más afamados que había en Madrid en 1624, contemporáneo del gran Lope de Vega, cuyos versos cantaba con grande aplauso el mismo Florian, y á quien Vega llama florido y apellida Canario del Cielo." Saldoni, Diccionario de musicos españoles, Madrid, IV (1881) p. 103.

⁴⁷ I have been unable to identify this singer.

⁴⁸ Cf. Rennert, The Spanish Stage, p. 584.

⁴⁹ Cf. Rennert, l.c., p. 424.

The passages about Amaryllis (María de Córdoba) and Riquelme (*Nota* XI)⁵⁰ are almost commonplace:

Sub idem tempus Amaryllis (sic eam vocabant) inter Comicas floruit, quae erat prodigiosa in suâ arte. Eloquebatur, canebat, musicis instrumentis ludebat, tripudiabat; & nihil erat, quod cum laude, & applausu non faceret.

Paucis post annis theatra adsurgebant Riquelmae, adolescenti pulchrae, apprehensiva tam sorti praeditae, ut inter loquendum vultūs colorem cum omnium admiratione mutaret: nam, si in theatro fausta, & felicia narrarentur, roseo colore suffusa auscultabat; si autem aliqua infausta circumstantia intercurreret, illicó pallida reddebatur. Et in hoc erat unica, quam nemo valeret imitari.

Finally there is the story of Juan Rana (Nota XIII)⁵¹ in an entremes at the Retiro, pretending to mistake for a painting two princesses who witnessed the performance from their balcony:

Aula, in quâ aguntur Comoediae, fenestris aliquibus circumdatur, quae respondent cubiculis, in quibus sunt uxores Procerum, cùm Comoedia agitur. In intermedio (Hisp. en un entremés) Ioannes Rana, quo lepidiorem Comicum non cognovit Hispania, agebat illîus arcis Praefectum, & introduxit duos, quibus deberet totam arcem ostendere, & cum in illam aulam fuit ingressus, sie inquit. Haec Panegyris est locus, ubi cantantur carmina, & aguntur Comoediae. Rex, & Augusta solent sedere ibi. Summates hic: Proceres istic, & olim Pompejanae arcis muri conchyliatis peristromatis erant superbi, non tamen illis inerat auri, argenti, & gemmarum majestas, quam haec prae se ferunt. Sed ipsis adhuc sunt istae picturae pretiosiores. Et conversus ad fenestram, in quâ forté duae assidebant Principes, ait. Considerate, quoeso, illam picturam. Quâm ad vivum sunt pictae illae duae vetulae. Sola deficit vox, Vivas crederem, si loquerentur. Ad summam nostro aevo Pictoria Ars perfectionem devênit. Plura dicturus erat de Picturis, sed jussus fuit, ad alias res orationem convertere.

This leads to a long disquisition on the excessive use of face-paint by Spanish women, a theme familiar from all accounts of travel in Spain, and which Caramuel illustrates with some pointed poetical quotations.

In the course of his reminiscences about stage-folk (Nota XI) Caramuel made the perhaps wistful remark: "Ego nomino, quos puer cognovi, nam à juventute exesse ab Hispaniâ jussus, Comoedias audire non potui." Many interesting -ana may have been lost thereby. Before leaving Spain, however, young Caramuel witnessed a Mary-play, partly in dumb-show, at the Monastery of La Espina, where he entered the Cistercian order. The monastery is in ruins now near the village of Barruelo, in Castilla la Vieja, but Caramuel's bit of description is vivid and interesting, and apparently has been quite forgotten:

Barrueli (pagus est non longè a Spinensi coenobio jacens in antiquâ Cas-

⁵¹ Cosme Pérez, known as Juan Rana (possibly after one of the 'Alcaldes de Daganço,' immortalized by Cervantes). Cf. Rennert p. 553 and Cotarelo, Colección de entremeses, I, clvii-clxiii.



⁵⁰ Cf. Rennert, pp. 456; 574.

tellâ) interfui Divinis mysteriis die nascenti Deiparae consecratâ. Musica fuit expectatione melior, & omnia urbano potiùs, quam pagano ritu agebantur. Ad Offertorium surrexerunt Confratres, & singuli suum munus obtulerunt Angelorum Reginae; alii taciti, alii carmina recitantes, alii cantantes, & applausum præ caeteris habuit qui muti personam adsumens, manibus, & gestibus loquens, ut panis, vini, & pecorum copiam, & valetudinem Diva populo universo concederet, motibus tam vivis expressit, ut mentis suae conceptus clariùs, & meliùs explicare verbis non posset. Et quid iste non faceret, si à pueritiâ habuisset Magistros idoneos?

Morel-Fatio has described Caramuel's commentary as "très développé mais en somme bien vide." If the foregoing lines convey a fair idea of its contents, this statement may now be accepted or qualified.

A question may be raised as to the date of composition of the commentary. The *Rhythmica* is, according to Nicolás Antonio,⁵³ a work of Caramuel's youth. But it will be remembered that it was published first in 1665 and that the commentary to Lope appeared only in the second edition (1668). The subject-matter goes back in part to the time before the author took orders, or to his sojourn in Germany (Speier, 1644); the information from Alstedius was not accessible before 1649, and the anecdote about the *mosquetero* Sánchez is placed about 1650.

An attractive guess, although quite unsupported by evidence, would place the composition of at least a first draft, containing the more exuberant sections, in a period when the savage attack on Lope by Pedro de Torres Rámila, in his *Spongia* (1617) and the answer to it, Francisco López de Aguilar's *Expostulatio Spongiae* (1618), were not yet forgotten; possibly about 1625, when the precocious Caramuel, aged nineteen or twenty, and with unbounded hero-worship, set out to improve on the six propositions of Alfonso Sánchez.⁵⁴

Of course, in 1668 Caramuel's militant enthusiasm might well have appeared more puzzling than inspiring. The commentary's more aggressive features, it would seem, should have impressed an informed world as rather belated and pointless, the harmless garrulity of an old man living in memories. But apparently the world was not well-informed, or neo-classicism had remained stronger than might be supposed. At any rate, in certain circles, Caramuel's

⁵² L.c., p. 372.

⁵³ Bib. hisp. nova, I, 666.

⁵⁴ Cf. note 30.

commentary was received even then as actual and helpful. A Spanish translation was prepared by a Madrid Augustine monk, Miguel de Jesus María,⁵⁵ and in the end of the seventeenth century a close paraphrase was made by P. José Alcázar,⁵⁶ probably for a lecture-course in the Jesuit-College at Madrid.

 ⁵⁵ Mentioned by Alvarez y Baena, ap. La Barrera, Nueva biografía de Lope de Vega, Madrid, 1890, p. 146. I have not been able to trace this manuscript.
 56 Cf. Gallardo, Ensayo, I, 109-118. Utilized by Menéndez y Pelayo: vid. supra note 10.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF COLERIDGE'S LECTURE NOTES

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In considering the work of Coleridge as a lecturer, there are obviously two types of material to be dealt with. In the first place there are the published reports of his lectures as delivered which, as is well known, are exasperatingly meagre, and, secondly, there are the notes left by Coleridge at his death and first published by H. N. Coleridge in the Literary Remains. By far the most important part of this lecture material is that appearing in the second volume of the Literary Remains under the heading, "Shakespeare, with Introductory Matter on Poetry, the Drama, and the Stage." These notes, which not only contain much detailed criticism of Shakespeare but also deal with general critical principles of great importance, were, many of them at least, written down in preparation for lectures, and, during an investigation of influences on Coleridge's dramatic criticism, I have been led to some conclusions with regard to the nature of the material and the chronology of the various notes.

Mrs. H. N. Coleridge, when she reprinted this material in the first volume of her *Notes and Lectures upon Shakespeare*, regarded it as belonging to the course of 1818,¹ and no systematic attempt has since been made to prove the contrary. Miss Helmholtz, in her discussion of Coleridge's indebtedness to Schlegel,² groups all these notes under the heading, "Lectures of 1818," a method which is not only misleading but which betrays a lack of understanding of the true nature of the material which Coleridge left behind at his death. Investigators have no doubt been strengthened in their belief that these notes were all written for the course of 1818 by the fact that Dr. Gillman, referring to this course, reported that Coleridge "lectured from notes which he had carefully made." Ashe

¹ Notes and Lectures upon Shakespeare and Some of the Old Poets and Dramatists. I, 338.

² The Indebtedness of Samuel Taylor Coleridge to August Wilhelm von Schlegel. Bulletin of Univ. of Wis., 1907, pp. 322-347.

³ The Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, p. 335.

in his collection of Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare has reprinted with a slight rearrangement the material on Shakespeare and the drama in the second volume of the Literary Remains, together with the general remarks on Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Massinger which appear in the first volume. These notes he groups together under the general title of "Lectures and Notes of 1818," but in the introduction to this section of his book⁴ he states some very suggestive conclusions to the effect that these notes were probably not all written down at the same time, but that they represent the accumulations of years. Ashe, however, made no attempt to work out his theory except by a few very brief and not always accurate footnotes pointing out some similarities with earlier lectures. In his article in the Modern Language Review, Vol. XVIII, April 1923, pp. 183-201, A. C. Dunstan states the hypothesis and brings some scattered evidence as proof that Coleridge in his lectures of 1811, 1813, and 1818, was using material collected "long before these lectures were given," but the subject is not followed up in any detail.

According to the syllabus only three lectures of the 1818 course were to be devoted to Shakespeare, and of these we have no reports. Furthermore, there were no lectures announced involving such material on the drama in general as we find in the preparatory notes.⁵

Believing that some light may be thrown on the chronology of these lecture notes by a careful comparison of the text of the notes with the reports of Coleridge's lectures as delivered, I shall in this paper present such a comparison wherever there are similarities between the notes and lecture reports sufficient to make comparison possible. This task is rendered difficult by Coleridge's habit of lecturing extemporaneously. In the sixth lecture of his 1811-12 course he tells his audience that he has learned to trust mainly to the "extemporaneous ebullition" of his thoughts, and in a letter to Britton, February 28, 1819, Coleridge describes his method of preparing and delivering a lecture as follows:

During a course of lectures, I faithfully employ all the intervening days in

⁶ This letter was printed in part in *Literary Remains*, II, 2-4, and also in part in *Biographia Epistolaris*, II, 166-167. The remaining portion was printed by Dykes Campbell in *The Athenaeum*, 1892, I, 17-18.



⁴ Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare and Other English Poets, by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, collected by T. Ashe, pp. 176-177.

⁵ The syllabus has been printed several times. See Ashe, pp. 170-174.

collecting and digesting the materials, whether I have or have not lectured on the same subject before, making no difference. The day of the lecture, till the hour of commencement, I devote to the consideration, what of the mass before me is best fitted to answer the purposes of a lecture. . . . Several times, however, partly from apprehension respecting my health and animal spirits, partly from the wish to possess copies that might afterwards be marketable among the publishers, I have previously written the lecture; but before I had proceeded twenty minutes, I have been obliged to push the MS. away, and give the subject a new turn. Nay, this was so notorious, that many of my auditors used to threaten me, when they saw any number of written papers upon my desk, to steal them away; declaring they never felt so secure of a good lecture as when they perceived that I had not a scrap of writing before me.

This testimony by Coleridge himself is borne out by accounts of his lectures given by his friends. Crabb Robinson's comments on the course of 1811-12 refer to Coleridge's tendency to digress, sometimes for nearly the whole lecture, from the subject he had promised to treat, a fact which was often a cause of anxiety to his friends. "Instead of a lecture on a definite subject," wrote Robinson to Mrs. Clarkson, after a description of the sixth lecture which was unusually digressive, "we have an immethodical rhapsody, very delightful to you and me, and only offensive from the certainty that it may and ought to offend those who come with other expectations." Cottle, the Bristol bookseller and friend of Coleridge, in writing of the latter's lectures in Bristol relates that

they were all of a conversational character, and were little other than the earnest harangues, with which on all possible occasions, he indulged his friends, so that there was little of the toil of preparation with him and if the demand had been equal to the supply, he might have lectured continuously. But if there was little of formal and finished composition in Mr. C's lectures, there were always racy, and felicitous passages, indicating deep thought and indicative of the man of genius.8

Dr. Gillman also, in the passage from which I quoted above, says that Coleridge's audience "was more delighted when putting his notes aside, he spoke extempore." It is therefore evident that in most cases exact verbal coincidence between the preparatory notes and the reports of the lectures is not to be expected.

The character of the reports in many cases would also exclude the possibility of exact coincidence in phraseology. Notes taken by persons attending the lectures, such as those by Crabb Robinson and Mr. Carwardine, are only detached memoranda, the newspaper reports are very brief, and even Mr. Collier's transcripts of several of the lectures in the 1811-12 course are no doubt shorter than

⁸ Cottle, Reminiscences of Coleridge and Southey, p. 263.



⁷ Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson, edited by Sadler, I, 354.

Coleridge's lectures actually were. Hence any conclusions regarding the dates of the notes must be based chiefly on coincidence in ideas with similarity of phraseology appearing now and then.

Taking first the group of notes dealing with poetry and the drama in general, I will state my conclusions as follows:⁹

Definition of Poetry

This note undoubtedly forms the basis for the opening portions of the second and third lectures of the course of 1811-12, 10 in which Coleridge states and expounds his definition of poetry. The phrase-ology of the note, as far as the description of poetry is concerned, is especially close to the language of the beginning of the third lecture as it was reported in the *Morning Chronicle*. The note was accordingly written sometime before the beginning of this course. 11

The Greek Drama

This note is a very important one for our consideration since upon it has been based one of the heaviest charges of plagiarism against Coleridge. Mrs. H. N. Coleridge has given a number of references in her notes¹² to passages in Schlegel from which her father had evidently drawn, and Miss Helmholtz by a series of parallel passages¹³ has made clear that practically every sentence in this note has its source in Schlegel's lectures on the Greek drama. It would seem that Coleridge must have written the note very soon after reading Schlegel's lectures—perhaps even with the book before him—since the verbal coincidence of the opening paragraph with the first pages of Schlegel's eleventh lecture is strikingly close, approaching in some passages to almost literal translation.

Coleridge first became acquainted with Schlegel's Vorlesungen after he had delivered eight lectures in the 1811-12 series,¹⁴ and the only record we have of lectures by him on the Greek drama after this time is the report in Crabb Robinson's *Diary* of the



 $^{^{9}\,\}mathrm{All}$ the preparatory notes which I shall discuss can be consulted most easily in Ashe's collection.

¹⁰ Ashe, pp. 44 ff. and 55.

¹¹ Coleridge later made use of this note in writing ch. XIV of the Biographia Literaria.

¹² Notes and Lectures upon Shakespeare, I, 340-341.

¹³ Indebtedness of Coleridge to A. W. Schlegel, pp. 322-338.

¹⁴ This we know from his own statement during the ninth lecture. Ashe, pp. 226-227.

second, third and fourth lectures at Willis' Rooms in May, 1812.15 Robinson's entries are as follows:

May 23rd-Coleridge's second lecture. A beautiful dissertation on the Greek drama. His analysis of the trilogy of Aeschylus, the 'Agamamnon,' etc. was interesting; and his account of the 'Prometheus,' and his remarks on the 'Antigone,' were more connected than when I heard him speak on the same subjects on a former occasion. 16

May 26th—Heard Coleridge's third lecture. It was wholly on the Greek drama, though he had promised that he would today proceed to the modern drama. The lecture itself excellent and very German.¹⁷

May 29—Coleridge's fourth lecture. It was on the Nature of Comedy—about Aristophanes, etc. The mode of treating the subject very German, and of course much too abstract for his audience which was thin.18

It will be observed that the subjects treated in the second lecture, viz., the trilogy of Aeschylus, the Prometheus, and the Antigone do not appear in the note, but it is evident that the note was written out with a lecture in mind, 19 and if full reports of these lectures, particularly of the third and fourth, were in existence, they would probably show that Coleridge had used material found in the note.

Progress of the Drama

In the lecture of February 5, 1808, Coleridge, after speaking of the origin of the Greek drama, proceeded to discuss that of the Middle Ages, and it will readily be noticed that the salient points of this portion of the lecture, as noted down in a detached manner by Crabb Robinson.²⁰ correspond closely with the first part of the note on the Progress of the Drama.21 The latter part of the note, however, betrays an indebtedness to Schlegel which necessarily

²¹ It has been pointed out by Brandl (S. T. Coleridge and the English Romantic School, p. 296) that for the facts regarding the mediaeval drama Coleridge was indebted to Warton and Malone. Coleridge himself makes reference to Malone. See Ashe, p. 199.



¹⁵ In the first of these entries Robinson refers to a "former occasion" on which Coleridge spoke on the Prometheus and Antigone, but we have no record of it. It may have been in private conversation, or possibly during the course of 1808. We know that in the lecture of Feb. 5th, 1808, Coleridge discussed the origin of the Greek drama, although Mr. Robinson's notes do not indicate that in this lecture he gave anything more than historical facts which were common knowledge and not traceable to any particular source. See Robinson's Diary, I, 267-268.

¹⁶ Diary, I, 385.

¹⁷ Ibid., I, 386-387.

¹⁸ Ibid., I, 387.

¹⁹ The transition paragraph occurring at about the middle of the note would seem to indicate this: "It will not be improper, in this place, to make a few remarks on the remarkable character and functions of the chorus in the Greek tragic drama." Ashe, p. 192.

²⁰ Robinson's Diary, I, 267-268.

places the date of writing at some time after Coleridge had become acquainted with the *Vorlesungen*.²² From certain phrases and transitional sentences through the note, it is clear that it was written in anticipation of a lecture, and the probability is that in writing ou this note Coleridge made use in the first part of it of material which he had previously collected for his lecture of 1808. We have no report of any lecture which corresponds with the note, but, judging from the prospectus of the course at the Surrey Institution, Nov. 1812-Jan. 1813, Coleridge intended in that course to cover a fairly wide range of subjects—the Evolution of the Fine Arts, Poetry in general, etc.—and it is more than likely that, if we could have reports of these lectures as delivered, we should find some parallels with this note.

The Drama Generally and Public Taste

The introductory portion of this note contains some material which Coleridge used in the earlier half of his second lecture in the course of 1811-12, namely, the remarks on the superiority of poetry to painting and on the indestructibility of the works of Shakespeare and other great writers.²³ Furthermore, in the latter part of the note, Coleridge refers to the fact that he has been studying Shakespeare since he was ten years old, and that "the thirty intervening years have been unintermittingly and not fruitlessly employed in the study of the Greek, Latin, English, Italian, Spanish and German belle lettrists." This brings us to the year 1812, since Coleridge was born in 1772. It is probable, then, that this note, like that on the definition of poetry, was written out before the course of 1811-12. The fact that the material in the latter part of the note on the dependence of the drama on public taste does not appear in the



²² This indebtedness consists chiefly in the contrast which Coleridge makes of the Greek drama as appealing to the senses or at most to "a reason which was obliged to accommodate itself to the senses," with the romantic drama as appealing to the imagination, and to "the reason as contemplating our inward nature" (See Schlegel's 1st lecture, Werke, ed. Böcking, V, particularly pp. 13-14); in his distinction between the Athenian dramatists and Shakespeare in that the former separated "the diverse in kind and the disparate in degree," while the latter delighted in "interlacing—the one with the other" (See Schlegel, Werke, VI, 161); and in his discussion of stage illusion (See Schlegel, Werke, VI, 24). This last, however, has important influences behind it besides Schlegel.

The statements made throughout this paper regarding the influence of Schlegel are based on conclusions drawn in my unpublished dissertation, German Influence on Coleridge's Dramatic Criticism, Radcliffe, 1921.

²³ Ashe, pp. 44 ff.

lecture need not disturb us since we are acquainted with Coleridge's habit of not following his notes. There is, however, another factor to be considered. The sentence at the beginning of the second paragraph of the note ("In my last address I defined poetry," etc.) is hard to reconcile with the second lecture of 1811-12, since poetry was not defined in the first. Mr. Ashe thought it possible that the note was written out originally for the 1808 series. This is a possibility, since Coleridge's statement quoted above may have been inaccurate. If we are to accept this possibility, we must assume that the note on the definition of poetry was also originally written before 1808. It would have been quite in accordance with Coleridge's practice if he had written these notes in the first place for the 1808 course and then used them again as suited his fancy in the course of 1811-12.

Shakespeare as a Poet Generally

In the fourth lecture of the 1811-12 series Coleridge discussed the Venus and Adonis and Lucrece, and a comparison of the note with the report of the lecture reveals that they both express essentially the same views in regard to the qualities requisite to make a poet and in regard to the poetic characteristics of Shakespeare as seen in these two poems. But the newspaper report is so brief (the report from the Morning Chronicle is the only record we have²⁵) that it is difficult to tell how close a correspondence there may or may not have been in detail. In Chapter XV of the Biographia Literaria we have a discussion of Venus and Adonis and Lucrece which, as it brings together in logical arrangement and develops more fully, ideas found both in the note and in the lecture report, makes it fairly certain that the note was written at least before the publication of the Biographia in 1817. Probably, however, it was written before the lecture of 1811.

Shakespeare's Judgment Equal to His Genius

The theme of Shakespeare's judgment being equal to his genius is one which Coleridge treated as early as the second lecture of the 1811-12 series, but there are certain paragraphs in the note, namely, those in which he discusses the necessity of rules for the full development of genius and the difference between mechanical and

²⁴ Ashe, p. 208 (note)

²⁵ Printed in Ashe, pp. 57-58.

organic form, which are so plainly borrowings from Schlegel²⁶ that the date of writing must be placed later than 1811. Also Coleridge's statement that in "all the successive courses of lectures" which he had delivered, it had been his aim to prove Shakespeare's judgment commensurate with his genius, would necessarily place the note after he had delivered at least several courses. Furthermore, the first sentence of this note connects it so directly with the preceding, (Shakespeare as a Poet Generally) as to suggest that the two were written at the same time. Granted that they were written at the same time, the borrowings from Schlegel which have just been pointed out, make it impossible that these notes could have been written before the fourth lecture of the 1811-12 course.

It is possible that they were both written for the course at the Surrey Institution, where Coleridge was advertised to speak on Shakespeare. But what seems equally probable is this: that the note on Shakespeare as a Poet was originally written previous to the fourth lecture of the 1811-12 series, and that the juxtaposition of the two notes here represents a rearrangement made when preparing for the lectures of a later course, the note on Shakespeare's Judgment not being written out, in its present form at least, until that time.²⁷

Recapitulation and Summary of the Characteristics of Shakespeare's Dramas

For the composition of this note the terminus ad quem is a certainty, because of the correspondence of the text of the note with that of the first lecture of the course on Shakespeare at Bristol, reported in the Bristol Gazette.²⁸ The verbal coincidence of the first half of this lecture with the first half of the note is so striking as to make it certain that Coleridge had the notes before him while talking. The latter part of the lecture deviates somewhat from the note; nevertheless several of the points discussed are the same in both, and the deviation is no greater than would have been likely



²⁶ See Schlegel's Werke, V, 4-5, 8 and VI, 157-158. Coleridge was in possession of many of the ideas in this note before he knew Schlegel, but his reading of Schlegel's lectures influenced the form in which he expressed these ideas.

²⁷ According to the Bristol Gazette, Coleridge concluded his sixth lecture in that city with a discussion of Shakespeare as a poet as seen in the Venus and Adonis and Lucrece. His remarks at this time were probably a repetition of what he had said earlier. See Ashe, pp. 488-489.

²⁸ Printed in Ashe, pp. 458-467.

to occur if Coleridge, according to his habit, had suddenly decided to push the notes aside and speak extemporaneously. The whole lecture is a mosaic made up of many of the ideas on Shakespeare and the drama which he had expressed in earlier lectures. A number of passages are obviously the result of his reading of Schlegel.²⁹ We can, therefore, be sure that this note was not written later than 1813, and we have no records to prove that it was written earlier, although, according to Dykes Campbell, Robinson reported that the twelfth lecture at the Surrey Institution was "a very eloquent and popular discourse on the general character of Shakespeare." The Bristol lecture may have been a repetition of this one and delivered from the notes previously used, but without further record it is impossible to be certain of this.

Coming now to the notes on the separate plays of Shakespeare, we find that the editor of the *Literary Remains* has apparently brought together all the notes of any sort left by Coleridge on the subject of Shakespeare. The notes on some of the plays were no doubt written out in anticipation of lectures, others are textual comments, usually in refutation of Warburton or Theobald, which it is not likely were ever used in his public lectures. Since Coleridge lectured on the plays of Shakespeare on so many different occasions, we may feel fairly certain that these notes on the plays, as well as those on poetry and the drama in general, were written down at different times, although it is not possible in many cases to determine on a definite date. Possibly, if an examination could be made of the original manuscripts, some light might be thrown on the subject.

Discussing first the notes on the historical plays, we have Mr. Collier's report of Coleridge's remarks on $Richard\ II$ in the twelfth lecture³¹ of the 1811-12 course and the report in the $Bristol\ Gazette$ of his lecture on the same subject in 1813.³² A comparison of these lecture reports with the note reveals that the latter contains some

²⁹ Compare the paragraph in which Coleridge describes Greek art as statuesque and modern as picturesque and in which he likens the structure of the dramas of Sophocles to the pantheon and Shakespearian drama to York Minster or Westminster Abbey with Schlegel's first lecture (*Werke*, V, 3-20). See also Schlegel's *Werke*, VI, 26 ff., for the source of Coleridge's remarks on the treatment of the unities of time and place in Greek drama.

³⁰ Samuel Taylor Coleridge. A Narrative of the Events of his Life, by J. Dykes Campbell, pp. 188-189.

³¹ Ashe, pp. 147 ff.

³² Ashe, pp. 478 ff.

points brought out in 1812 and others which were stressed in 1813, as well as some ideas which occur in both lectures, but the correspondence of the note with neither of the lectures is close enough to warrant concluding that it was written down previous to these courses. It is very probable that, in its present form, this note was written out in preparation for the last course on Shakespeare, that at the Crown and Anchor, where Coleridge was advertised to speak on *Richard II* and other historical plays. The matter of most importance, however, is that, though the note may not have been written until late, Coleridge's general views on the play and on the character of Richard remained essentially unchanged.

The notes on King John and on Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI are largely textual comments which might have been jotted down at any time when Coleridge was working on Shakespeare. The note on Richard III is a brief paragraph which we have no way of dating.

An examination of the note on *The Tempest* yields somewhat the same result as in the case of the note on *Richard II*. Coleridge treated *The Tempest* in the latter part of the ninth lecture in the 1811-12 course, but there is no correspondence in detail between this lecture and the note which would warrant concluding that the note was written in preparation for this course. However, the opening lecture of the Crown and Anchor course, 1818-19, was on *The Tempest*, and in the report of this lecture as printed in the *Athenaeum* (1891, II, pp. 865-866) there appear certain coincidences with the note, which make it seem likely that this note, whenever it may have been written, was at least used in the delivery of this lecture.

The note on Romeo and Juliet also may not have been written until Coleridge was preparing for the Crown and Anchor course, when we know that he spoke on the subject.³³ However, since he had not originally intended to discuss Romeo and Juliet in this last course,³⁴ it is more probable that he used notes which he had written earlier, but just when, it is impossible to say. In the opening paragraph of the note Coleridge refers to the fact that he has previously discussed the unities and goes on to say that, instead of the term unity of action, he prefers the expression, totality of interest. This



³³ See letter to Britton, cited above, p. 3. Also letter to Mudford, printed in the *Canterbury Magazine*, quoted by Campbell in the *Life*, p. 239.

³⁴ See the prospectus as printed in Campbell's Life, p. 238.

is a thought which he undoubtedly got from Schlegel,³⁵ and which therefore excludes the possibility of the note having been written previous to lectures VII and VIII of the 1811-12 course, in which this play was discussed. Coleridge was advertised to speak on *Romeo and Juliet* at the Surrey Institution, and the note may have been written previous to this course. It is important to remember in the case of all these notes, that if reports of the lectures on Shakespeare, not only at the Surrey Institution but at Willis's Rooms and in the course of 1818, had been preserved, it might be possible to draw more definite conclusions.

Regarding the note on Hamlet it is possible to make a more definite statement than for some of the others. Comparing this with the report from the Bristol Gazette of the lecture on Hamlet in 1813,36 we find that the lecture coincides so closely in thought and phraseology with the note that we must conclude that the latter was written at least not later than 1813. The general remarks on the character of Hamlet are expressed in practically the same language in both places. In regard to details, Coleridge comments in both on Shakespeare's knowledge of human nature as shown in the trivial and commonplace conversation in which the characters engage while waiting for the ghost to appear (Act I, sc. iv), and defends the latter part of the scene, after Hamlet has seen the ghost, against the charge of "improbable eccentricity." The note contains, to be sure, a great deal of detailed comment on the play which does not appear in the lecture, but this is easily explainable from Coleridge's custom of using only those parts of his notes which he chose to introduce on a particular occasion. Moreover, the report of the lecture is brief, and Coleridge may have brought in more details in the actual delivery than have been preserved.

With regard to the notes on the Winter's Tale and Othello some rather interesting conclusions may be drawn. Coleridge's fourth lecture at Bristol was devoted to these two plays, and although the report in the Bristol Gazette was very brief and general, we find that the main points of the lecture as brought out in the report are ideas which are stressed in the preparatory notes.³⁷ Moreover in

³⁵ Schlegel's Werke, VI, 20.

³⁶ Ashe, pp. 471-475.

 $^{^{37}}$ These points are: the appropriateness of the title of $W.\ T.$; jealousy the main theme of $W.\ T.$; enumeration of the effects of jealousy as seen in Leontes; Othello contrasted with Leontes; Othello, a Moor, not a negro. See Ashe, pp. 380-394 and 476-477.

the preparatory note on *Othello* Coleridge falls into a discussion of the unities in which he expresses several ideas which were brought out more fully in the first Bristol lecture—ideas which he had borrowed from Schlegel. He speaks of unity of interest as a better term than unity of action, and with regard to the unities of time and place he refers to the fact that the Greeks sometimes violated unity of place by moving the chorus and that they violated the law of actual perception with respect to time as well as place. Finally, he speaks of the Greek trilogy as a drama in three acts.³⁸ The coincidence in main ideas between these two notes and the fourth Bristol lecture makes it seem probable that they are used in this course, and the borrowings from Schlegel appearing both in the note on *Othello* and the first Bristol lecture make it increasingly probable that the *Othello* note was written or perhaps revised when Coleridge was working up the Bristol lectures.

The notes on *Macbeth* and *Lear* were in all probability written for lectures, but we have no report preserved of a lecture on *Lear* and the only report we have of a lecture on *Macbeth* (that of the second at Bristol) does not correspond closely enough with the note to help us in determining the date of the latter.

Regarding the notes on the other Shakespearian plays, a few of them may have been written with lectures definitely in mind, but most of them consist of detailed textual comments which were no doubt jotted down at different times while Coleridge was meditating on Shakespeare. The material on As You Like It furnishes definite evidence in support of my theory in that part of the notes bear the date 1810 and another section is dated 1818.³⁹ It is also of interest to note in this connection that we have preserved among the notes three attempts by Coleridge to arrange Shakespeare's plays chronologically, dated respectively 1802, 1810, 1819.

This examination of the preparatory notes in the light of the reports of actual lectures, while it may not have been very fruitful in determining exact dates, has been sufficient to prove the main point with which we started out, viz., that we are dealing in the *Literary Remains* with a mass of material not representing the preparation for any one course but notes written out from time to time during the decade of Coleridge's career as a lecturer. Most of the material was no doubt delivered at one time or another, some



³⁸ See first Bristol lecture, Ashe, pp. 462-464 and Schlegel, Werke, VI, 20 ff.

³⁹ Ashe, p. 294.

of it repeatedly, in the lecture courses, but in some cases, where records of the delivered lectures are lacking, we can only infer without any proof that the notes were used in lectures. This is notably true in the case of the notes on the Greek drama. Some of the notes may have been written previous to the first course in 1808, while others, in their final form at least, may not have been written until Coleridge was preparing for his last course in 1818-1819.

IN PRAISE OF HOMER

By A. SHEWAN St. Andrews, Scotland

The belief of the ancients in their Homer, one and indivisible, supreme in genius and in wisdom, was unquestioning. From beginning to end classical literature is studded with tributes begotten of this sincere and unswerving loyalty. He was the father of all virtue, the fountain of all wisdom, a model for orators. "The elements of all the arts" are found in him, says Quintilian. He was "the Father of Tragedy and Comedy and of all accomplishment in letters." His *Iliad* and *Odyssey* made the Muses eleven. "The great heaven was his fatherland and Calliope his mother. Apollo sang; Homer wrote down the lays."

Carmine complexus terram, mare, sidera, manes, Et cantu Musas, et Phoebum aequavit honore.

Dryden's well known hyperbole is matched by a Greek epigram, which tells how, after the birth of Homer, Nature lay exhausted for a space. He held "the sceptre of song." He was "the light of the Muses, the eye of the world." He was "the mightiest-voiced of all," "first, middle, and last to everyone, child and old man alike." The burden is one, that "Maeonian Homer hath first place."

The Anthology teems with his praise and with testimony to the great part he had in Greek life. Epithets are made for him, and many a term of abuse invented for critics and grammarians who, not seeing the wood for the trees, pored over his language and sought to condemn his verses. But three things were held to be impossible, to steal the lightning of Zeus, to filch the club of Herakles, and to abstract a line from Homer. These old scholars, without a doubt, had "a use of their own in the world," but they had little honour in their own country. An unscientific and unsympathetic public was prone to jeer at them. "Away with ye," an epigram addressed to them runs, "across the broad back of the sea." They were whelps of Zenodotus, snarlers of Callimachus, sons of Momus.

One of the greatest compliments that could be bestowed on an

author was to appraise his value by the Homeric standard. A eulogy of Sappho ran, "as far am I above all maids in song as Homer outstrips men." Plato was "the Homer of philosophers," and to Longinus "the most Homeric of them all." Sophocles was the Tragic, Vergil the Roman, Homer. And not in literature alone was this glory recorded. In some parts of Greece "the poet" was paid honours all but divine. At Smyrna he had a portico with a statue and a shrine. The coins of more than one Greek town bore his image. He had sacrificial honours as a hero in a month called by his name, and a statue at Olympia. His portrait hung at Delphi. Another picture, by Galaton, represented him as the source of inspiration to meaner minds in a manner which is far too forcible for modern taste.

Homer's preeminence is just as clear to most of the moderns, even to some of those who are oppressed by the mania for the resolution of the epics into primordial fragments. The poets have spoken with hardly a dissentient voice. Dante's tribute is a simple "poeta sovrano"; Tasso's, "if among mortal men there is anything immortal, nothing can as surely be endowed with eternal life as the poetry of Homer." Schiller thought that the man who had read the twenty-third Iliad need not complain of life; he had had enough of its pleasures. Others have held that, in the concluding cantos of that poem, where some critics find a weakening, Homer "only begins to be himself." Goethe at first yielded to the views of Wolf; the scholarship of the man overpowered him. day with Wolf," he said, "is as good as a year of study." he recanted. Macaulay, on finishing a reading of the Iliad, asks what is the glory of a Caesar or an Alexander compared with Homer's. "Think what it would be to be assured that the inhabitants of Monomotapa would weep over one's writings A.D. 4551." The Lays of Ancient Rome are full of Homeric fire; in some, as Regillus, the imitations are express. Tennyson has drunk deep at the Homeric spring. Gladstone's laudation of the oratory in the epics is so strong and impassioned that one pauses to think whether such language can possibly be justified. The speeches of Achilles challenge comparison "with all that the ebb and flow of three thousand years have added to our records of true human eloquence." The retort of Ulysses to Phaeacian insolence teaches "more than any composition with which I am acquainted, up to what a point emotion, sarcasm, and indignation can be carried without loss of self-command."

There is a testimonial of another kind from a Christian divine. Melanchthon, the friend of Luther and "praeceptor Germaniae," declared on his deathbed that, after the Bible, there was no better book than Homer. His favourite verse was the Odyssean "all men have need of the gods." The nobleness and purity of the thought in the epics are as striking as the simple beauty of the diction. It is true there are even now critics who, after the manner of Bowdlers ancient and modern, would excise from the Odyssey the delightful Lay of Ares and Aphrodite, because it savours of "the unbecoming." That involves what Andrew Lang reprobated as the "fallacy of neglecting the poet's audience." "What ground," asks a leading living Homerist, "have we to suppose that the religion of Minos and Ariadne would have been shocked" at the recital?

The exhortation of an Oxford Don, Cyril Jackson, Dean of Christchurch, is remarkable for the strength and directness of its terms. "Let no day pass without your having Homer in your hand. Elevate your own mind by continual meditation on the vastness of his comprehension and the unerring accuracy of his conceptions." The surpassing excellence there suggested is believed by leaders of the Higher Criticism to be the outcome of the work of a multitude of bards, rhapsodes, and editors, who—no man preventing them—added, excised, altered, expurgated, archaised, and, again to quote Lang, "generally bedevilled" the poems through several centuries.

Detractors of Homer were hardly tolerated in antiquity. early Ionian philosophers, especially Xenophanes, abused him as a Father of Lies about the gods, but they were in a manner a new sect, and perhaps had to justify their existence as such by an ebullition of odium theologicum. The precursors of modern dissecting critics, the "Separators" who sought to prove two Homers, one for each epic, were snuffed out at once. In fact, in all pagan antiquity there was really but one man, Zoilus the "Scourge of Homer," who dared the curses of his countrymen by open dissent from their adoration of "the poet." He is said to have composed nine works on or against Homer, including an "encomium" on the ogre Polyphemus! But only scanty fragments of his work are extant, and these are so harmless in the eyes of some authorities that they have held he was only trying to raise a laugh. He objected, on temperance grounds apparently, to Achilles' order to Patroclus to mix a stronger brew for their guests. On the description of the Shade of Patroclus, "like a vapour the spirit was gone beneath the earth." his comment was, "but vapour is borne aloft." and so on. All the same Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives him some commendation as a critic. Still it is certain that his memory was cordially detested. He was "a Thracian slave," "a slanderous wretch," a dog of a rhetorician," "a trampler on Homer." One wonders what treatment the ancients, if they were back on earth, would devise for present day disintegrators of poems which to them were inviolable. Mrs. Gamp's "torters of the Imposition" would hardly suffice. The elder Scaliger, it may be added, was imbued to some degree with the spirit of the defamer Zoilus. Comparing the two great epic poets of antiquity he said, "Homer is a country wench, Vergil a noble matron; the one is as lead, the other is as gold." The judgment has not endured.

Professor Scott, in *Homer and His Influence*, quotes the following from the *Essay on Poetry* of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham:

Read Homer once and you can read no more; For all books else appear so mean, so poor, Verse will seem prose; but still persist to read, And Homer will be all the books you need.

Which is the Theocritean ἄλις πάντεσσιν 'Όμηρος. It is true; Homer stands by himself, "alone, aloof, sublime." Happy the man who has acquired an early love for him. Andrew Lang has said of books that one's early loves are lasting. The old books are the best. It is surely a test of the excellence of a volume that one returns to it often. He was a sensible old Frenchman who said, "Je ne lis plus; je rélis."

ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1660-1800: A CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY

By RONALD S. CRANE University of Chicago

This bibliography attempts to list the more significant books, articles, and reviews published during the year 1927, together with a few bearing the date 1926 which came to my attention too late to be included in the bibliography for that year (*PQ*, VI, 161-200). Professors G. R. Havens, F. B. Kaye, Marjorie H. Nicolson, and George Sherburn have contributed the reviews signed with their respective initials.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHR=American historical review.

Archiv=Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.

Beiblatt=Beiblatt zur Anglia.

EHR=English historical review.

ES=Englische Studien.

GRM=Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift.

JEGP=Journal of English and Germanic philology.

LM=London mercury.

MLN=Modern language notes.

MLR=Modern language review.

MP=Modern philology.

N & Q=Notes and queries.

PMLA=Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.

PQ=Philological quarterly.

RAA=Revue anglo-américaine.

RC=Revue critique.

RCC=Revue des cours et conférences.

RELV=Revue de l'enseignement des langues vivantes.

RES=Review of English studies.

RH=Revue historique.

RHL=Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France.

RLC=Revue de littérature comparée.

RSH=Revue de synthèse historique.

SP=Studies in philology.

SRL=Saturday review of literature.

TLS=Times [London] literary supplement.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AIDS

Annual bibliography of English language and literature. Volume VII, 1926. Edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association by D. Everett and E. Seaton. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1927.

The Ashley library: a catalogue of printed books, manuscripts and

- autograph letters collected by Thomas James Wise. Volume VIII. London: Printed for private circulation only, 1926. Rev. in TLS, March 17, 1927, p. 182.
- Baugh, A. C. "American bibliography for 1926. I. English language and literature." *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 1-39. See especially pp. 27-33.
- Bernbaum, Ernest. "Recent works on prose fiction before 1800." MLN, XLII (1927), 281-93.
- An admirable survey, refreshingly outspoken, which should be continued. The present article deals with publications of 1925 and 1926.
- Chapman, R. W. "Cancels and stubs." *Library*, N. S., VIII (1927), 264-68.
- Chapman, R. W. "An inventory of paper, 1674." *Library*, N. S., VII (1927), 402-08.
- Chapman, R. W. "The numbering of editions in the eighteenth century." RES, III (1927), 77-79.
- C[hapman], R. W. "Picked copies." RES, III (1927), 79.
- A Collection of books illustrating the literary history of Great Britain during the last fifty years of the eighteenth century. London: Birrell & Garnett, 1927.
 - Contains 877 items.
- Crane, Ronald S. "English literature of the Restoration and eighteenth century: a current bibliography." PQ, VI (1927), 161-200.
- Crane, R. S. and F. B. Kaye, with the assistance of M. E. Prior. A census of British newspapers and periodicals, 1620-1800. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1927. Reprinted from SP, XXIV (1927), 1-205.
- Rev. by G. Binz in Beiblatt, XXXVIII (1927), 349-54 (some additional titles, mostly almanacs, which were expressly excluded from the Census); by L. Cazamian in RAA, V (1928), 266; by W. T. Laprade in South Attantic quarterly, XXVII (1928), 96; by I. A. Williams in LM, XVI (1927), 532-34; in RLC, VII (1927), 759; in TLS, Oct. 20, 1927, p. 739 (cf. also Dec. 15 and 22).
- Kennedy, Arthur G. A bibliography of writings on the English language from the beginning of printing to the end of 1922. Cambridge and New Haven: Harvard University Press and Yale University Press; London: H. Milford, 1927.
 - Rev. by A. Mawer in MLR, XXII (1927), 466-67.
- McKerrow, Ronald B. An introduction to bibliography for literary students. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.
- Rev. in $N \notin Q$, CLIII (1927), 377-78; in TLS, Nov. 3, 1927, p. 787. A greatly enlarged edition of the author's "Notes on bibliographical evidence for literary students and editors of English works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, XII

[1914], 213-318). The plan has been improved; many new topics and illustrations have been introduced; and the scope of the work has been broadened so as to take in the whole history of English book-production down to about 1800. Of the value of the book in its new form for editors of Restoration and eighteenth-century no less than of Elizabethan texts it is difficult to speak with moderation. It is true that comparatively few illustrations are drawn from the period after 1640; but this is not a serious criticism even from the point of view of specialists in the later field, for the fundamental practices of compositors and pressmen seem to have changed but little from the days of Elizabeth to those of Victoria, with the result that, as Mr. McKerrow points out, "a student who is familiar with the methods of book-production in the years during which Shakespeare was writing will need only a little experience with the books themselves to understand the methods of any other period up to the middle of the nineteenth century." And nowhere will one find a fuller or more lucid exposition of these methods than in the present book.

I add a few remarks on particular points, mainly by way of confirmation or supplementary illustration. Pp. xiv-xv: the "short list of some books of special utility to students" given here includes, besides various standard modern works, two early treatises on printing methods—Moxon's Mechanick exercises (1683) and Johnson's Typographia (1824). It may be useful to record the titles of a few ether books of this sort published in the interval between Moxon and Johnson (there are copies of all of them in the Newberry Library, Chicago): John Smith, The printer's grammar (1755); Philip Luckombe, A concise history of . . . printing, with practical instructions to the trade in general (1770); The printer's grammar, chiefly compiled from Smith's edition (1787); and C. Stower, The printer's grammar; or, introduction to the art of printing (1808). It is perhaps worth noting that the description of the process of composition given by Johnson goes back in large part, through Stower, to Smith. There is a useful account of these treatises in the introduction to T. C. Hansard's Typographia (1825). P. 12, n. 2: that leads were sometimes inserted after and not during composition is shown by the curious proof-sheets of Goldsmith's Traveller, now in the British Museum (C.58.g.7). In these the process of leading has been carried out for the first three sheets (B-D); the four pages of sheet E, however, remain as originally composed, without leads, page-numbers, or running-heads. Pp. 65-66: there is ample support in the treatises referred to above for the statement made here that until the nineteenth century books were regularly arranged Girctly in pages, without the hereitish magazine for April, 1761 (II, 199): "Another grievance, of which, like Mons. Bayle, I must say, animus meminisse horret, is that practice of booksellers, who, among other invasions of the prerogative of us authors, assume a right to dub a book with a title of their own invention." P. 168: for other examples of 12mos sewn in alternate gatherings of eight and fou

Sawyer, Charles J. and F. J. Harvey Darton. English books, 1475-1900: a signpost for collectors. London: C. J. Sawyer, 1927. 2 vols.

Rev. in TLS, Nov. 3, 1927, p. 796.

- Van Tieghem, Paul. "Principaux ouvrages d'histoire littéraire générale et comparée (onzième compte rendu annuel)." RSH, XLIV (1927), 103-37.
- The Year's work in English studies. Volume VI, 1925. Edited for the English Association by F. S. Boas and C. H. Herford. London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1927.

Rev. by L. Cazamian in RAA, IV (1927), 471-72; in TLS, Mar. 17, 1927,

p. 182.

Chapters IX and X, by Allardyce Nicoll and Edith J. Morley respectively, cover the period of the Restoration and eighteenth century. The method employed in them is that with which we have become familiar in earlier volumes of the series: a succession of loosely organized appreciations of the principal books and articles published in the course of the year. The chapters represent much devoted and useful labor on the part of their compilers, but the result is hardly as satisfactory as it would be if a clearer understanding prevailed as to the purpose to be served by the work. As it is, the chapters are both too incomplete and too inconveniently arranged to compete as bibliographies with (say) the annual volume of the M.H.R.A.; and on the other hand, they do not quite come up to the ideal of a systematic and critical survey of the state of scholarship which would mark out general tendencies and fit particular works into the scheme of a developing exploration of the field. They suffer, too, from the fact that their writers seem to hesitate between two publics—that of general readers and that of serious investigators.

II. THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

NOTE: I include here only such publications as appear to have a fairly direct bearing on the problems of literary and intellectual history.

Austen-Leigh, R. A. The Eton College register, 1698-1752. Eton: Spottiswoode, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, June 9, 1927, p. 401.

Belasco, Philip S. "Note on the Labour Exchange idea in the seventeenth century." *Economic journal*, Economic history series, No. 2 (1927), pp. 275-79.

Bleackley, Horace. "Eighteenth century Newgate." N & Q, CLIII (1927), 167-68.

Constable, W. G. John Flaxman, 1755-1826. London: University of London Press, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, Aug. 18, 1927, p. 558.

Gosse, Philip. A bibliography of the works of Capt. Charles Johnson. London: Dulau, 1927.

Rev. by I. A. Williams in LM, XVI (1927), 203.

Griffith, G. Talbot. Population problems of the age of Malthus. Cambridge: University Press, 1926.

Rev. by Elie Halévy in RAA, V (1927), 79-80.

Imbert-Terry, Sir H. M. A constitutional king: George I. London: John Murray, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, May 5, 1927, p. 311.

- Knight, M. M. "Recent literature on the origins of modern capitalism." Quarterly journal of economics, XLI (1927), 520-33.
- Lives of the most remarkable criminals who have been condemned and executed for murder, the highway, housebreaking, street robberies, coining, or other offences. Collected from original papers and authentic memoirs and published in 1735. Edited by Arthur L. Hayward. London: Routledge, 1927.
 - Rev. in TLS, Oct. 13, 1927, p. 714.
- The Correspondence of James Logan and Thomas Story, 1724-1741.

 Edited by Norman Penney. London: Friends Book Centre, 1927.
- Lower, A. R. M. "The evolution of the sentimental idea of empire: a Canadian view." *History*, XI (1927), 289-303.
- Mallet, Sir Charles Edward. A history of the University of Oxford. Volume III. London: Methuen, 1927.
 - Rev. in TLS, Oct. 20, 1927, p. 735.
- Marcus, Hans. "Friedrichs des Grossen literarische Propaganda in England: eine Sammlung bisher unveröffentlichten Archivmaterials aus den Jahren 1756-1763." Archiv, CLI (1927), 161-243
 - Letters to Prussian agents in London.
- Namier, L. B. "Brice Fisher, M. P.: a mid-eighteenth-century merchant and his connexions." EHR, XLII (1927), 514-32.
- Ollivant, Alfred. "An eighteenth-century cleric." Nineteenth century, CI (1927), 432-40.
- Riddell, William Renwick. "Why not give Titus Oates a chance?"

 Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, XVIII (1927), 17-23.
- Riddell, William Renwick. "William Penn and witchcraft."

 Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, XVIII (1927), 11-16.
- Sée, Henri. "Dans quelle mesure Puritains et Juifs ont-ils contribué aux progrès du capitalisme moderne?" RH, CLV (1927), 57-68.
- A critical discussion of the views of Weber, Troeltsch, Sombart, and Tawney. Shaw, Wm. A. "Lives of English painters: a bibliographical note." TLS, June 2 and Oct. 27, 1927, pp. 391, 765.
- Sykes, Norman. "Historical revisions. XL.—Queen Caroline and the Church." *History*, XI (1927), 333-39.
- Taylor, Overton H. "Tawney's Religion and capitalism, and



- eighteenth-century liberalism." Quarterly journal of economics, XLI (1927),718-31.
- The Diary of Henry Teorge. Edited by G. E. Manwaring. London: Routledge, 1927.

Light on the navy under Charles II. Teonge was a naval chaplain.

Turberville, A. S. The House of Lords in the eighteenth century. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1927.

Rev. in TLS, Oct. 13, 1927, p. 703.

Turner, E. R. "The excise scheme of 1733." EHR, XLII (1927), 34-57.

A study in the public opinion of the early eighteenth century and its expression through pamphlets and newspapers.

Turner, E. R. The Privy Council of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Volume I. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, Oct. 6, 1927, p. 691.

- Webb, Sidney and Beatrice. English Poor Law history. Part I: The old Poor Law. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1927. Rev. in *TLS*, Mar. 24, 1927, p. 203. A detailed study of the period from 1660 to 1834.
- Williams, Judith Blow. A guide to the printed materials for English social and economic history, 1750-1850. New York: Columbia University Press, 1926.

Rev. by W. T. Laprade in South Atlantic quarterly, XXVII (1928), 96-98; by H. S. in RII, CLV (1927), 193-94.

- The Diary of a country parson: the Reverend James Woodforde. Edited by John Beresford. Volume III, 1788-1792. London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1927.
- Wright, W. J. Payling. "Humanitarian London from 1688 to 1750." Edinburgh review, CCXLVI (1927), 287-302.

A popular and rather rambling account of the work of such early philanthropists as Thomas Firmin and Robert Nelson and of the rise of charity schools and hospitals in the period before 1750. The latter part of the article is hardly relevant to the main theme.

III. CURRENTS OF IDEAS AND LITERARY FORMS

- Binz-Winiger, Elisabeth. Erziehungsfragen in den Romanen von Samuel Richardson, Henry Fielding, Tobias Smollett, Oliver Goldsmith und Laurence Sterne. Zürich dissertation, 1926.
- Bissell, Benjamin. The American Indian in English literature of the eighteenth century. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1925. Cf. PQ, V, 344.
- Rev. by F. E. Farley in MLN, XLII (1927), 335-38 (severe criticism); by H. Schöffler in Beiblatt, XXXVIII (1927), 77-82.

Brie, Friedrich. Englische Rokoko-Epik (1710-1730). Max Hueber, 1927.

Rev. by W. F. Schirmer in Literaturblatt für germ. und rom. Philologie, XLVIII (1927), cols. 108-111; by G. C. M. S[mith] in MLR, XXII (1927), 361-62; in TLS, Aug. 11, 1927, p. 548.

The poems studied in this interesting little book are Pope's Rape of the

lock, Gay's Fan, and various other minor pieces in the same genre, such as Breval's Petticoat (1716) and Art of dress (1717), Jacob's Rape of the smock (1727?), Jenyns's Art of dancing (1729), and an anonymous Clarinda, or the fair libertine (1729). Herr Brie is impatient of the common opinion that sees behind these poems only the tradition of the mock epic inaugurated by Boileau in the preceding century. The Rape of the lock "ist ein Gebilde des Rokoko und somit vom stilkritischen Standpunkte aus etwas ganz anderes des kokoko und somit vom stilkritischen Standpunkte aus etwas ganz anderes als die Epen von Boilleau in Frankreich oder Garth in England, die beide noch dem Barock angehören'' (p. 7). So too with the others: they form a distinctively English genre, without significant parallels in French literature, but closely related in their themes and general spirit to the social essays of Addison and Steele. On this last point Herr Brie has much to say that is both interesting and new (see especially pp. 38-46, 54-64, 79-86), though he certainly draws too sharp a line between the Rape of the lock and the poems of Boileau and Garth. He has some very suggestive remerks also on the relationship. of Boileau and Garth. He has some very suggestive remarks also on the relations between English rococo literature and the spread of luxury in early eighteenth-century society (see particularly Chapter III, "Englischer Luxus und englische Rokoko-Literatur").

P. 19: I do not understand what is meant by the statement that "Popes Essay on Man ist reine Rokoko-Philosophie." P. 19, n. 1: for "Alberigo Nicola" read "Allardyce Nicoll." P. 30, n. 1: for an earlier defence of luxury by Defoe see the Review for May 26, 1712, pp. 739-40. P. 51: to Gildon's statement of the differences between Pope and Boileau should be added that of Dennis in his Remarks on Mr. Pope's Rape of the lock (1728).

Brinton, Crane. The political ideas of the English romanticists. London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926. Cf. PQ,

Rev. by Irving Babbitt in Political science quarterly, XLII (1927), 441-44; by L. Cazamian in *RAA*, V (1927), 67-68; by A. Koszul in *Les langues modernes*, XXV (1927), 561-62.

Bush, Douglas. "Some allusions to Spenser." MLN, XLII (1927), 314-16.

Three from the eighteenth century.

Cazamian, Louis. A history of English literature. Volume II, Modern times (1660-1914). New York: Macmillan, 1927.

Extended discussion of this translation may be dispensed with here as the original is by this time familiar to all serious students of the history of modern English literature. Slightly over half of the volume is concerned with the period from 1660 to 1798. Professor Cazamian is perhaps less intimately familiar with this period than he is with the nineteenth century, but he knows it far better than many specialists, and the four "books" in which he traces the main tendencies of literary taste from the Restoration to the French Revolution form without doubt the most satisfactory synthesis of the period that has yet appeared—the most up-to-date in its information, the most intelligently organized, the most discriminating in its analysis of movements and of individual writers and works.

Collins, A. S. Authorship in the days of Johnson. London: Robert Holden & Co., 1927.

Rev. in TLS, May 26, 1927, p. 371.

- Collins, A. S. "The growth of the reading public (1780-1800)." Nineteenth century, CI (1927), 749-58.
- Colman, Francis. "Opera register, 1712-1734." The mask, XIII (1927), 18-23.

Continued from XII, 110-14.

- Covent Garden drollery, 1672. Edited by the Rev. Montague Summers. London: The Fortune Press, 1927.
- Cox, James E. The rise of sentimental comedy. Published by the author, Drury College, Springfield, Mo., 1926.
- Dentice di Accadia, C. "Il preilluminismo." Giornale critico della filosofia italiana, VIII (1927), 1-22, 81-106, 170-89, 256-82.

A sketch of the history of theories of knowledge, ethics, and religion in English philosophy before Locke, with special attention to the influence of Italian Renaissance thought.

- "The eighteenth century in verse." TLS, Nov. 10, 1927, pp. 797-98.
- Folkierski, W. Entre le classicisme et le romantisme. Paris: Champion, 1925. Cf. PQ, VI, 166-68.

Rev. by L. Cazamian in RAA, IV (1927), 452-54; by D. Mornet in Romanic review, XVIII (1927), 106-11.

Foster, Herbert D. "International Calvinism through Locke and the Revolution of 1688." AHR, XXXII (1927), 475-99.

Foster, James R. "The Abbé Prévost and the English novel." *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 443-64.

A well-documented and discriminating study of the part played by Prévost and his French imitators in the development of the English novel of "sentimental adventure" from the middle of the century to Mrs. Radcliffe. P. 446: it will hardly do to say that Prévost's characters "were embodiments of Shaftesbury's æsthetic morality."

Freeman, Edmund L. "Bacon's influence on John Hall." PMLA, XLII (1927), 385-99.

Interesting side-lights on intellectual currents in England on the eve of the Restoration,

Freeman, Edmund L. "A note on Bacon's influence." MLN, XLII (1927), 239-40.

As shown by the Reliquiae Gethinianae (1699), a posthumous publication based on the commonplace-book of Lady Grace Gethin (1676-1697).

Fries, Charles C. "The rules of common school grammars." PMLA, XLII (1927), 221-37.

An interesting study of their origin in the later eighteenth century, illustrating the predominance of rationalistic thinking among the grammarians of that period.

Frost, Walter. Bacon und die Naturphilosophie. Munich, 1927. Rev. by A. E. Taylor in Mind, XXXVI (1927), 244-45.

Gertsch, Alfred. Der steigende Ruhm Miltons: die Geschichte einer

Heteronomie der literarischen Urteilsbildung. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1927.

See H. Schöffler in ES, LXII (1927), 234-37.

Gooch, G. P. English democratic ideas in the seventeenth century. Second edition, with supplementary notes by H. J. Laski. Cambridge: University Press, 1927.

Graham, Walter. The beginnings of English literary periodicals: a study of periodical literature, 1665-1715. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926. Cf. PQ, VI, 168. Rev. by F. Baldensperger in *Litteris*, IV (1927), 108-09; by L. F. Powell in *RES*, III (1927), 368-70; by D.N.S. in *MLR*, XXII (1927), 361.

"The animate and mechanical models of Gregory, Joshua C. reality." Journal of philosophical studies, II (1927), 301-14.

Contains a suggestive brief sketch of the transition in the seventeenth century "from the animate to the mechanical model in versions of physical

Haller, William. "Before Areopagitica." PMLA, XLII (1927), 875-900.

Milton's place in the controversy concerning freedom of thought and expression, 1643-44. An important new chapter in the history of the idea of toleration.

Harbeson, William Page. The Elizabethan influence on the tragedy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lancaster, Pa.: Wickersham Printing Co., 1927. University of Pennsylvania dissertation.

Havens, Raymond D. "An earlier and a later Rolliad." RES, III (1927), 218-20.

Mainly concerned with Extracts from the album, at Streatham. . . . (1788), which Professor Havens regards as "not so much an imitation as a continuation of the Rolliad group of satires."

Hesselgrave, Ruth A. Lady Miller and the Batheaston literary circle. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, Mar. 31, 1927, p. 227.

Isaacs, J. "English men of letters at Padua in the seventeenth century." RES, III (1927), 75.

The list includes John Evelyn, Edmund Waller, Kenelm Digby, Thomas Killigrew, Thomas Vaughan, Bolingbroke, and Addison.

Jones, Henry Broadus. "The death song of the 'noble savage': a sketch in the idealization of the American Indian." University of Chicago Abstracts of theses, Humanistic series, III (1927), 339-45.

Lovejoy, Arthur O. "'Nature' as aesthetic norm." MLN, XLII (1927), 444-50.

A most useful tabulation of the manifold senses attaching to the term "nature" in the literary and artistic criticism of the seventeenth and eight-

The all-too-brief concluding "Remarks" are very suggestive, eenth centures. particularly on the often misunderstood matter of the relation between aesthetic primitivism and neo-classicism.

"Optimism and romanticism." Lovejoy, Arthur O. PMLA. XLII (1927), 921-45.

An interpretation of eighteenth-century "optimism" designed to show the significance of that movement in the transformation of standards that led to romanticism. It is a very important article; I know, in fact, of few studies in the history of ideas during this period that are more provocative of thought, or more vivaciously written. I have only one reservation, and that concerns a matter of detail. It is not, I believe, nearly so certain as Professor Lovejoy thinks (see p. 926, n. 9) that Pope in writing the Essay on Man had before him anything corresponding to the Fragments or minutes of essays later printed in Bolingbroke's Works. The testimony of Lord Bathurst is certainly too late to be of any value. And aside from this, it may be noted (1) that Bolingbroke in the "Advertisement" prefixed to the Fragments does not expressly say that the notes communicated to Pope "in scraps, as they were expressly say that the notes communicated to Pope "in scraps, as they were occasionally writ," were intended to be utilized in the writing of the Essay; (2) that the discussion in Fragment I of "Dr. Cudworth's posthumous treatise concerning eternal and immutable morality, which you [Pope] sent me long ago," must have been written some time after 1731, when the Treatise was published; and (3) that Bolingbroke in his Letter to ... Mr. Pope (1753 ed., pp. 425-26, 431-33), writing after the publication of the Epistle to Burlington (Dec. 1731), speaks as if his promise to compose something on the philosophical questions that interested the two friends was still unfulfilled. This is not of course conclusive, and I do not mean in any case to cast doubt on the reality and importance of Bolingbroke's contribution to to cast doubt on the reality and importance of Bolingbroke's contribution to the genesis of the *Essay*; but I do not think the case for a written contribution is quite as clear as Professor Lovejoy seems to believe.

Lowes, John Livingston. The road to Xanadu: a study in the ways of the imagination. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927.

Rev. by Emile Legouis in RAA, V (1928), 269-73.

Detailed discussion of this work—surely one of the great books of our generation—must be left to specialists in Coleridge and the Romantic Movement. It is for them to do justice to its amazing erudition, to its brilliant insight into poetic psychology, and to the beauty and vitality of its style. I cannot list it here, however, without a word about its value to students of the later eighteenth century. For the magnificent sweep of Professor Lowes' research has caught up an extraordinary number of facts of the greatest interest to anyone who would reconstruct the curious ferment of ideas which characterized that age. The popularity of voyages, the revival of Neoplatonism, the spell of a newly discovered Germany, mesmerism and animal magnetism, the vogue of the Wandering Jew and of the myths of the antediluvian world, new fashions in poetic diction—whoever is curious about these and other little known aspects of the world of Coleridge's youth will find them discussed, often brilliantly and always with an abundance of precise information, in Professor Lowes' text and notes. Chapter XVII, on the elements which entered into the style of the Ancient mariner, is a particularly fine piece of work—a model of discriminating analysis which should set a new standard in studies of this cort in studies of this sort.

Mackintosh, Donald T. " 'New dress'd in the habits of the times." TLS, Aug. 25, 1927, p. 575.

New facts on eighteenth-century attempts to establish historic dressing on the English stage.

Mirabent, F. La estetica inglesa del siglo XVIII. Barcelona: Editorial Cervantes, 1927.

Rev. by Charles Lalo in Revue d'histoire de la philosophie, I (1927), 465-66.

Moore, C. A. "Miltoniana (1679-1741)." MP, XXIV (1927), 321-39.

. Contains among other things interesting details on the earlier history of "graveyard poetry."

Muirhead, J. H. "The Cambridge Platonists." Mind, XXXVI (1927), 158-78, 326-41.

Mainly on Cudworth.

Nicoll, Allardyce. A history of late eighteenth century drama, 1750-1800. Cambridge: University Press, 1927.

Rev. by J. H. Caskey in *JEGP*, XXVII (1928), 122-25; by Dougald Mac-Millan in *MLN*, XLII (1927), 472-74; by Paul Meissner in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Oct. 22, 1927, cols. 2104-07; by G. H. Nettleton in *SRL*, Oct. 22, 1927, p. 238; in *TLS*, Mar. 17, 1927, p. 182.

Paull, H. M. "The ethics of plagiarism." Fortnightly review, CXXII (1927), 202-16.

A few details on the attitude toward plagiarism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Powicke, Frederick J. The Cambridge Platonists. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1926; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.

Rev. by P. E. More in SRL, Nov. 12, 1927, p. 299.

Mr. Powicke in his preface has protected himself against otherwise inevitable criticism, when he says of this study that "it makes no pretence at all to be complete, and aims at nothing more than to express those aspects of the subject which struck me most and have seemed most relevant to my own needs." His book is admittedly a personal evaluation of a group of divines to whom he has gone, as he says more than once, for "spiritual nutriment." As personal appreciation, one cannot quarrel with it; one may indeed welcome it—and particularly the inclusion of Peter Sterry, too infrequently mentioned elsewhere—as one welcomes any study which helps to draw attention to this remarkable group of philosophers, theologians, and "latitude-men."

Yet the critic must regret that in a work which promised so well, Mr. Powicke has been content, on the whole, to follow in the footsteps of Campagnac, and particularly (for all his disagreement on a few points in the last chapter) of Principal Tulloch, in insisting that the chief, perhaps the only, importance of these Cambridge men lay in their divinity. Such a recent study as E. A. Burtt's Metaphysical foundations of modern physical science has

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such relationships must be proved; and they are all capable of proof. The "Platonism" of these men, too, must be more sharply defined and distinguished. By which of the many Renaissance "Platonisms" were they affected? In what matters of great moment did they consciously deny, or unconsciously depart from the tenets of Neoplatonism? On these subjects Mr. Powicke's treatment is unsatisfactory, because he has been content to draw his biographical facts, and to accept his historical relationships from Tulloch; and Tulloch is not only often misleading, but frequently actually wrong both in his statements and in his implications. Sympathetic, therefore, as are Mr. Powicke's appreciations of these men as individuals, his general statements, particularly in his introductory and closing chapters, are too often either vague or incorrect. Had he gone back to the period itself, he could hardly have failed, for instance, to be aware of the true significance of those terms which trouble him—"reason" and "natural light" (cf. pp. 21-22, 31-32, 46-47). He is quite right in believing them of great significance in the systems of the Cambridge men; but careful discrimination of the uses and of the sources of the terms is necessary before their real meaning emerges. Only through study of the men in their own period is their position and contribution to be understood; and for such study mere selections from their works are not enough; for a highly significant phase of the movement is to be found in the changing position taken by these individuals as the century advances, to the radical changes both in science and in philosophy.

Finally, it is curious that, in spite of Mr. Powicke's interest in the question of the "influence" of this group, he should have been unaware of the part they played in the nineteenth century in the Romantic Movement, of their effect upon Coleridge, and, through him and directly, upon such New England Transcendentalists as James Marsh, Theodore Parker, and Ralph Waldo

Emerson.—M. H. N.

Railo, Eino. The haunted castle: a study of the elements of English romanticism. London: Routledge; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1927.

Rev. by W. L. Phelps in SRL, Oct. 15, 1927, p. 194; in TLS, July 21, 1927, p. 500.

Raysor, Thomas M. "The downfall of the three unities." MLN, XLII (1927), 1-9.

An interesting paper, which places Johnson's attack in its immediate setting by describing the renewal of attacks on the unities in the decade before 1765, and shows, on the basis of some new material, how complete was the "downfall" of the dogma in English criticism between 1765 and 1800.

Raysor, Thomas M. "The study of Shakespeare's characters in the eighteenth century." MLN, XLII (1927), 495-500.

Adds a number of studies of Shakespeare's characters to the list given by Nichol Smith in his Eighteenth-century essays on Shakespeare.

Schelling, Felix E. Shakespeare and "demi-science": papers on Elizabethan topics. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1927.

Contains a rewritten version of his well known paper on "Ben Jonson and the classical school."

Seeger, O. Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Antike und Moderne in England bis zum Tode Dr. Samuel Johnsons. Leipzig: Mayer und Müller, 1927. Spencer, Hazelton. Shakespeare improved. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.

Stokoe, F. W. German influences in the English romantic period, 1788-1818. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. Cf. PQ. VI,

Rev. by R. F. Arnold in *Die Literatur*, May, 1927, pp. 488-89; by F. Baldensperger in *RLC*, VII (1927), 784-90; by L. Cazamian in *RAA*, V (1927), 66-67; by A. Koszul in Les langues modernes, XXV (1927), 232-33; by Edna Purdie in MLR, XXIII (1927), 80-82; by Helene Richter in Die neueren Sprachen, XXXV (1927), 214-18; by William Rose in RES, III (1927), 245-

Straus, Ralph. The unspeakable Curll. Being some account of Edmund Curll, bookseller; to which is added a full list of his books. London: Chapman and Hall, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, Dec. 15, 1927, p. 945.

This book contains a great mass of valuable information, which in the hands of the inexperienced will certainly tend to subvert history. Pages 201-314 are headed, "A Handlist (1706-1746)." The assumption would naturally be that Curll was in some way connected with the books here handlisted—one might even assume that he was concerned in their publication. The sad truth is that while most of the entries might belong in a handlist of books sold by Curll, many are included simply because at some time and for some reason (unstated) Mr. Straus suspected Curll of possibly having an interest in them. No one, I trust, forced Mr. Straus to make this Handlist; if he chose to make it, he should have played the game as good bibliographical method demands. The trouble is that he feels superior to his task. He feels pleasure in it, but fears someone may call him a pedant. From the title (which is possibly a bit severe) to the sprightly comments on entries in the Handlist (such as "So there!" or "Which is vague, but I can't help it") the author indulges "So there!" or "Which is vague, but I can't help it") the author indulges constantly his desire to cut a literary caper. At the same time he shows, as he himself confesses (p. 202), a habit of "letting things go" as far as drudgery is concerned. He writes (p. 249): "About Charles Ancillon I can find nothing, or, rather, I have found nothing, because I have not worried myself." Since in the British Museum it ought not to have taken more than two minutes to consult the printed catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale on Ancillon, such a statement rather worries the reader, who may suspect that he is not always thus warned when Mr. Straus "lets things go." The volume contains a wealth of invaluable detail, however, and for that we must be grateful. It will be a blessing if the price (42 s) and the small number of conies ful. It will be a blessing if the price (42 s) and the small number of copies printed (535) keep the volume out of the hands of the inexperienced; for, alas! there are people who will take Mr. Straus's guesses or hypotheses or even his witticisms as sober statements of solid fact.—G.S.

Thompson, Elbert N. S. The seventeenth century English essay. Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1927.

Rev. by Morris W. Croll in MLN, XLII (1927), 563-64; by G. C. Moore Smith in MLR, XXIII (1928), 77-78.

Thüme, Hans. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geniebegriffs in Eng-Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer, 1927.

An attempt to show that the conception of genius expressed by such writers as Addison and Young represented not a new development but rather the culminating phase of a tradition that had been continuous in English criticism since its rise in the sixteenth century. The book consists of a fairly long Introduction on the "Vorbereitung des Geniebegriffs in der italienischen Renaissance" and of four short chapters entitled respectively "Die Elisabethanischen Kritiker," "Von Jonson bis Dryden," "Der Klassizismus," and "Der Naturalismus." For specialists in the eighteenth century the most valuable part is undoubtedly the opening analysis of Renaissance ideas on the divine inspiration of the poet and on his power of free imaginative creation. The later sections, which attempt to trace the fortune of these ideas in England from Sidney to Young, are much less satisfactory. They contain a good many facts and texts which it will be useful to have assembled in one place, but as the author has seldom gone beyond the most obvious and easily accessible sources, they add little to what we already knew about the subject.

Van Tieghem, Paul. "Les droits de l'amour et l'union libre dans le roman français et allemand (1760-1790)." Neophilologus, XII (1927), 96-103.

Van Tieghem, Paul. "Quelques aspects de la sensibilité préromantique dans le roman européen au XVIII° siècle." Edda, XXVI (1927), 146-75.

These two articles are preparatory studies for a more complete account of the history of the sentimental novel in eighteenth-century Europe which the author intends to publish soon. The first paper is limited to a description of the "roman sentimental passionné, parfois sensuel, et hardi" as it developed, particularly in France and Germany, after 1760. The second article is broader in scope: it contains (1) an interesting study of the vocabulary of sentimentalism in France, England, and Germany, and (2) an excellent analysis of the principal internal characteristics and external manifestations of "sensibilité" in the novel of these and other countries during the whole of the eighteenth century. In the space at my disposal I can comment on only a few of the writer's points. P. 147: to the bibliography of works on the vocabulary of sentimentalism given here, add Anna Wüstner, "Sentiment' und 'sentimental' in der engl. Prosaliteratur des XVIII. Jahrhunderts," in Bausteine: Zeitschrift für neuenglische Wortforschung, I (1906), 249-95. P. 152: on Sterne's use of "sentimental" in 1740 (not 1741) see a recent controversy in TLS, June 23 and July 21, 1927, pp. 440 and 504. P. 159: "Pope et après lui Voltaire ont enseigné qu'il faut, non arracher de l'âme les passions comme le veut une morale ascétique, mais s'en servir, en les combinant, pour être heureux en restant vertueux." The attitude toward the passions described here was very much older than Pope. It was, in fact, a stock position of the anti-Stoic moralists of the seventeenth century. I give a few references—many others might be added: Edward Reynolds, A treatise of the passions (1640), pp. 57-60; John Harteliffe, A treatise of moral and intellectual virtues (1691), pp. 17-18, 294-96; James Lowde, A discourse concerning the nature of man (1694), p. 24; M. Burghope, The government of the passions (1701), pp. 3-5; and Richard Steele in the Lover, No. 32, May 8, 1714.

Whiting, George W. "The condition of the London theaters, 1679-83: a reflection of the political situation." MP, XXV (1927), 195-206.

Zilsel, E. Die Entstehung des Geniebegriffs. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1926.

Rev. by H. Gmelin in Die neueren Sprachen, XXXV (1927), 396-98.

IV. INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

John Arbuthnot

Pons, Émile. [Review of H. Teerink, The history of John Bull..., Amsterdam, 1925.] RAA, IV (1927), 354-56.

One of the few sane evaluations of Teerink's arguments for Swift's authorship.

Jane Austen

The Novels of Jane Austen. Edited with introduction and notes by R. W. Chapman. Second edition. London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926. 5 vols.

Rev. by Léonie Villard in RAA, V (1927), 63-66.

Sadleir, Michael. The Northanger novels. A footnote to Jane Austen. English Association pamphlet, No. 68 (Nov., 1927). Expanded and revised from an article published in the Edinburgh review, CCXLVI (1927), 91-106.

Richard Baxter

Powicke, Frederick J. The Reverend Richard Baxter: under the cross (1662-1691). London: Jonathan Cape, 1927. Rev. in TLS, Apr. 28, 1927, p. 288.

William Blake

Poetry and prose of William Blake. Edited by Geoffrey Keynes. Complete in one volume. London: Nonesuch Press, 1927.

An excellent edition, based on the three volume Blake published by the Nonesuch Press in 1925, but without variants or notes.

- The Poems and prophecies of William Blake. Edited by Max Plowman. London: J. M. Dent & Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., [1927]. "Everyman's Library."
- Binyon, Laurence. The engraved designs of William Blake. London: Benn, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, Feb. 3, 1927, p. 71.

- Herford, C. H. "William Blake." Hibbert journal, XXVI (1927), 15-30.
- Lindsay, J. William Blake: creative will and the poetic image. London: Fanfrolico Press, 1927.
- Pierce, Frederick E. "The genesis and general meaning of Blake's Milton." MP, XXV (1927), 165-78.
- Plowman, Max. An introduction to the study of Blake. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1927.
- White, Helen C. The mysticism of William Blake. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1927. ("University of Wisconsin studies," No. 23.)

Rev. by Pierre Berger in RAA, V (1927), 62-63.

"William Blake." TLS, Aug. 11, 1927, pp. 537-38.

Wilson, Mona. "Blake and Bedlam." TLS, Dec. 15, 1927, p. 961.

Disposes conclusively of the statement in the Revue britannique for July, 1833, that Blake was an inmate of Bedlam.



Wilson, Mona. The life of William Blake. London: Nonesuch Press, 1927.

Rev. by Pierre Berger in RAA, V (1928), 267-68; in TLS, Aug. 11, 1927, pp. 537-38.

Wright, Herbert G. "Henry Crabb Robinson's 'Essay on Blake." "MLR, XXII (1927), 137-54.

Wright, Herbert. "William Blake and Sir Joshua Reynolds." Nineteenth century, CI (1927), 417-31.

Henry Saint-John, Viscount Bolingbroke

Ratchford, Fannie E. "Pope and the Patriot King." University of Texas Studies in English, No. 6, Dec., 1926, pp. 157-77.

Torrey, Norman L. "Bolingbroke and Voltaire—a fictitious influence." PMLA, XLII (1927), 788-97.

James Boswell

"Original Boswell papers." SRL, Oct. 1, 1927, p. 163.

A brief note on the important collection of papers recently brought to America by Col. Ralph Isham.

Pottle, Frederick A. "Portraits of James Boswell." N & Q, CLII (1927), 80-81.

A list of portraits, with queries as to their present whereabouts.

Tinker, C. B. and F. A. Pottle. A new portrait of James Boswell. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.

Thomas Brown

Amusements, serious and comical, and other works. By Tom Brown. Edited, with notes, by Arthur L. Hayward. London: Routledge, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, July 14, 1927, p. 483.

Sir Thomas Browne

Sir Thomas Browne's Christian morals. The second edition, with the life of the author, by Samuel Johnson. Edited with an introduction and notes, by S. C. Roberts. Cambridge: University Press, 1927.

Tempest, Norton R. "Rhythm in the prose of Sir Thomas Browne." *RES*, III (1927), 308-18.

Michael Bruce

Life and complete works of Michael Bruce. The Cottage edition. By John Guthrie Barnet. London: Chas. J. Thynne & Jarvis, 1927.

A work of piety rather than of scholarship.

John Bunyan

Draper, John W. "Bunyan's Mr Ignorance." MLR, XXII (1927), 15-21.

Starting from the obvious fact that in creating the characters of Pilgrim's progress Bunyan had his eye on contemporary groups and types, Mr. Draper argues that in the person of Ignorance he intended to symbolize "the evolution of bourgeois thought of the late seventeenth century from Calvinism to Deism and Sentimentalism." Ignorance, we are told, like the third Earl of Shaftesbury, having been "freed by the deistic tendencies of his time from a pessimistic view of human nature renounces the old theology with all its a pessimistic view of human nature, renounces the old theology with all its ethical and metaphysical implications, and embraces a 'new ethics' of optimism and emotion, an ethics that can best be described as essentially Sentimism and emotion, an etnics that can best be described as essentially Sentimental." And when Christian analyzes for Hopeful the reasons why such persons as Ignorance lack "right fear," the discourse is said to constitute "Bunyan's psychological explanation of the rise of Sentimentalism" among the English middle classes. This is not very convincing. There is plainly only one way of discovering what Bunyan had in mind in the passages about Ignorance and that is to bring them into relation with other texts both in Ignorance, and that is to bring them into relation with other texts both in Bunyan himself and in his contemporaries or predecessors in which the same doctrines appear. What is needed, in other words, is a historical interpretation. But Mr. Draper's method is the reverse of historical: he seeks the clue to Bunyan's meaning, not in the concrete facts of his intellectual environment, but in a set of abstract formulae, some of them only doubtfully true, ment, but in a set of abstract formulae, some of them only doubtfully true, which he has found in the books of modern students of eighteenth-century sentimentalism. The result is curiously artificial. "Gentlemen," says Ignorance, "ye be utter strangers to me, I know you not: be content to follow the religion of your country, and I will follow the religion of mine. I hope all will be well." This Mr. Draper labels, parenthetically, "optimism." On a later occasion Ignorance remarks that he prefers to "walk alone." This is "individualism." Christian, again, refers to persons holding the views of Ignorance as religiously "in a natural condition." Ignorance is therefore "clearly a disciple of Natural Religion." He says: "I know my Lord's will, and I have been a good liver; I pay every man his own; I pray, fast, pay tithes, and give alms, and have left my country for whither I am going." He has consequently "an humanitarian faith in justification by philanthropic He has consequently "an humanitarian faith in justification by philanthropic works." And so on. I regret that I cannot take these interpretations more seriously, for Mr. Draper has shown on many occasions that he has a high standard of scholarly method, and he has both done and inspired good work on the eighteenth century. But the most that can be said for the present article is that it calls attention to an interesting text and suggests the need of a new edition of *Pilgrim's progress* which will place Bunyan's thought in its true historical cetture. true historical setting.

Golder, Harold. "John Bunyan's hypocrisy." North American review, CCXXIII (1926-27), 323-32.

An interesting popular discussion of the effect of Bunyan's early reading of chivalric romances on Pilgrim's progress.

Edmund Burke

Newman, Bertram. Edmund Burke. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1927.

Rev. by J. Vallette in *Les langues modernes*, XXV (1927), 558-61; in *TLS*, May 5, 1927, p. 315.

Fanny Burney

Masefield, Muriel (Mrs. Charles Masefield). The story of Fanny

Burney: an introduction to the diary and letters of Madame d'Arblay. Cambridge: University Press, 1927.
Rev. in TLS, June 30, 1927, p. 452.

John Byrom: see William Law

Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield

Yvon, Paul. "Chesterfield et les français: est-il pour nous un ami compromettant?" RAA, V (1927), 146-57.

Charles Churchill

Beatty, Joseph M., Jr. "Churchill's influence on minor eighteenth century satirists." PMLA, XLII (1927), 162-76.

Contains a long and useful list of publications "occasioned by Churchill's works or influenced by them" between 1761 and 1783.

Colley Cibber

Sprague, Arthur Colby. "A new scene in Colley Cibber's Richard III." MLN, XLII (1927), 29-32.

Reprints the scene, later omitted, from the first edition (1700).

William Collins

Ode occasion'd by the death of Mr. Thomson, 1749. By William Collins. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

A type-facsimile reprint.

White, H. O. "The letters of William Collins." RES, III (1927), 12-21.

Notes on the two surviving letters: (1) to John Gilbert Cooper, Nov. 10, 1747, concerning Collins' plans for a literary review; and (2) to Dr. William Hayes, Nov. 8, 1750, concerning the latter's music for The Passions and the Oxford edition of that poem. The letter to Cooper, discovered in 1924 (see LM, X, 525), is the more important of the two. The reference in it to Collins' scheme for printing in his paper "any Poetical fragments of our best writers, such as some MSS. of Fairfax which I can procure" helps to illuminate the later tribute to Fairfax in the Ode on the popular superstitions of the Highlands (stanza XII).

William Congreve

Isaacs, J. "Congreve and America." RES, III (1927), 79.

On an accident to Congreve at Bath, as recorded in the Daily post for Oct. 1, 1728.

Abraham Cowley

Sparrow, John. "The text of Cowley's Mistress." RES, III (1927), 22-27.

The results of a collation of the editions of 1647, 1656, and 1668.

William Cowper

"Cowper's spiritual diary." Edited by Kenneth Povey. LM, XV (1927), 493-96.

The text of a fragmentary diary written in 1795. For corrections see ibid., XV, 640.

"The Hurdis-Cowper letters. Unpublished letters addressed by James Hurdis, the Sussex poet, to William Cowper." Sussex county magazine, April, 1927, pp. 223-25.

Martin, L. C. "Vaughan and Cowper." MLR, XXII (1927), 79-84.

Suggests the probability that a reading of Vaughan may have been partly responsible for the change in Cowper's attitude toward external nature which appears first in his *Retirement* (1782). An intelligent bit of source-study.

Povey, K. "The text of Cowper's 'Letters.'" MLR, XXII (1927), 22-27.

Evidence of the incompleteness and inaccuracy of all of the existing collections.

Spiller, Robert E. "A new biographical source for William Cowper." PMLA, XLII (1927), 946-62.

A diary of the Rev. John Johnson relating to Cowper and Mrs. Unwin during their residence with him in Norfolk from 1795 to 1800.

Taffe, Valentine. "Le sentiment de la nature chez Cowper." RAA, IV (1927), 308-19.

Daniel Defoe

A Tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain. By Daniel Defoe. With an introduction by G. D. H. Cole. London: Peter Davies, 1927. 2 vols.

Rev. in *TLS*, Jan. 12, 1928, p. 25. A reprint of the first edition, 1724-26.

Dottin, Paul. "Les sources de la Roxana de Daniel de Foë." RAA, IV (1927), 531-34.

Elissa-Rhaïs, Roland. "Une influence anglaise dans Manon Lescaut, ou une source du réalisme." RLC, VII (1927), 619-49. The "source" is Moll Flanders.

Hutchins, H. C. "Two hitherto unrecorded editions of Robinson Crusoe." Library, N. S., VIII (1927), 58-72.

Sir John Denham

Baldwin, T. W. "Sir John Denham and Paradise lost." MLN, XLII (1927), 508-09.

Supplements T. H. Banks's article (ibid., XLI, 51-54) by showing that Denham was in attendance on Parliament in 1667 at the time he is supposed to have uttered his praise of *Paradise lost*.

Banks, Theodore H. "The personal relations between Denham and Waller." MLN, XLII (1927), 372-78.

Hutchinson, F. E. "Sir John Denham's translations of Virgil." TLS, July 7, 1927, p. 472.

John Dryden

Annus mirabilis: the year of wonders, 1666. By John Dryden. Type-facsimile reprint of the first edition, 1667. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

Clark, William S. "Dryden's relations with Howard and Orrery." MLN, XLII (1927), 16-20.

Prints a hitherto unpublished letter which seems to show that Dryden was living with Sir Robert Howard in 1663. On the basis of this document the writer builds up a plausible, though largely speculative, argument that it was through this intimacy with Howard that Dryden was introduced to Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery (a first cousin by marriage of Howard), and that "the example of the pioneer plays of the Earl of Orrery plus the direct, personal relations existing between Dryden, Howard, and Orrery, seem the chief influences that occasioned the writing of *The Indian Queen* in rimed verse."

Harder, Franz. "Eine deutsche Anregung zu Drydens 'Alexander's Feast'?" ES, LXI (1927), 177-82.

A poem in Morhof's Unterricht von der teutschen Sprache und Poesie (1682).

Hughes, Merritt Y. "Dryden as a statist." PQ, VI (1927), 335-50.

An interesting though structurally rather confused article, in which the attempt is made to demonstrate a certain consistency of attitude in Dryden's political thinking and to show that in the transition from the absolutism of Hobbes to the theory of constitutional monarchy his place is with Halifax in "the last stage before Locke." The treatment of this second point is brief and not altogether satisfactory, and the greater part of the paper is devoted to exhibiting Dryden's contempt for the populace and his reflection of Hobbesian points of view in his plays. The paper as a whole is somewhat lacking in precision and leaves one with the impression that Mr. Hughes is not any too familiar either with the details of Restoration political history or with all of the pertinent facts about Dryden himself. He makes no reference, for example, to the interesting statement in Aubrey's Brief lives concerning Dryden's attitude toward Hobbes or to the testimony on the same point in the Censure of the Rota. And he leaves out of account the whole complicated question, which is not without a bearing on the points at issue, of the influence of Hobbes on Dryden's general philosophy. On this problem I may refer to an important paper by L. I. Bredvold on "Dryden, Hobbes, and the Royal Society," to be published in an early number of Modern philology.

Sir George Etherege

The Works of Sir George Etherege. Edited by H. F. B. Brett-Smith. Volumes I and II, Plays. Oxford: Blackwell, 1927.

Foster, Dorothy. "Sir George Etherege: collections." N & Q, CLIII (1927), 417-19, 435-40, 454-59, 472-78.

Notes on a lawsuit of 1656 in which Etherege was concerned, on the date of his death, and on his library.

John Evelyn

Vellacott, Paul. "Evelyn and Cosin?" TLS, Apr. 21, 1927, p. 280.

A note on a passage in his Memoires for my grand-son.

Henry Fielding

Blanchard, F. T. Fielding the novelist. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925. See PQ, VI, 180.

Rev. by E. A. Baker in *RES*, III (1927), 227-32; by F. Baldensperger in *Litteris*, IV (1927), 222-25; by Oliver Elton in *MLR*, XXII (1927), 225-28; by A. Digeon in *RAA*, V (1927), 57-59; by H. Schöffler in *Beiblatt*, XXXVIII (1927), 65-68; in *RLC*, VII (1927), 395-96.

Digeon, A. "La condemnation de Tom Jones à Paris." RAA, IV (1927), 529-31.

Disposes of the tradition that *Tom Jones* was condemned for its immorality. McCutcheon, Roger P. "'Amelia, or the distressed wife.'" *MLN*, XLII (1927), 32-33.

A "piece of secret personal history" published in May, 1751. No trace of influence on Fielding.

David Garrick

Nicoll, Allardyce. "Garrick's lost 'Jubilee': a manuscript copy." Times [London], June 25, 1927, pp. 13-14.

John Gay

The Poetical works of John Gay, including 'Polly,' 'The Beggar's opera,' and selections from the other dramatic works. Edited by G. C. Faber. London: Oxford University Press, 1926.

Rev. by Harold Williams in RES, III (1927), 358-61.

An excellent edition. The Introduction contains some sound remarks on the treatment of spelling and punctuation in modern editions of eighteenth-century poets.

Oliver Goldsmith

The Noel Douglas replicas. Oliver Goldsmith, *The Deserted village*. London: Noel Douglas, 1927.

A reproduction of the British Museum copy of the first edition.

New essays by Oliver Goldsmith. Now first collected and edited with an introduction and notes by Ronald S. Crane. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927.

Rev. in $N \notin Q$, CLIV (1928), 72.

Balderston, Katharine C. A census of the manuscripts of Oliver Goldsmith. New York: E. B. Hackett, The Brick Row Book Shop, 1926. Cf. PQ, VI, 181.

Rev. by I. A. Williams in *LM*, XV (1927), 641-43; in *TLS*, Feb. 24, 1927, p. 122.

Balderston, Katherine C. "Goldsmith's supposed attack on Fielding." MLN, XLII (1927), 165-68.

Shows that Goldsmith could not have intended Letter LXXXIII of the Citizen of the World as an attack on Fielding or any other contemporary since the discussion of romances in this essay was borrowed almost literally from the translation of Du Halde's Description of the Empire of China, published by Edward Cave in 1738-41.

Balderston, Katharine C. The history & sources of Percy's memoir of Goldsmith. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. Cf. PQ, VI, 181.

Rev. by H. V. D. Dyson in *MLR*, XXII (1927), 465; by Alda Milner-Barry in *RES*, III (1927), 232-34; by H. T. Price in *Beiblatt*, XXXVIII (1927), 139-40.

Brown, Joseph E. "Goldsmith and Johnson on biography." MLN, XLII (1927), 168-71.

Borrowings at the beginning of the Life of Richard Nash from the Idler, No. 84.

Crane, R. S. "The 'Deserted village' in prose (1762)." TLS, Sept. 8, 1927, p. 607.

Crane, R. S. "Goldsmith's 'Essays': dates of original publication." N & Q, CLIII (1927), 153.

Seitz, R. W. "Goldsmith and 'A concise history of England."

N & Q, CLIII (1927), 3-4.

Identifies the history of England for "writing and compiling" which Goldsmith received thirty guineas from Dodsley on Aug. 8, 1764, as the second part (pp. 247-397) of a work entitled The geography and history of England, published by Dodsley in March, 1765. The evidence is mainly internal: the second part of Dodsley's volume, which bears the title A concise history of England; or, the revolutions of the British constitution, is "little more than an abridgement" of Goldsmith's History of England in a series of letters, which Newbery had published in 1764. Mr. Seitz gives only two parallels in support of this statement, but an independent comparison of the two works leaves no doubt as to the correctness of his conclusion. And the existence of the receipt of Aug. 8, 1764, makes it equally certain that the abridger was Goldsmith himself.

Smith, H. J. Oliver Goldsmith's The citizen of the world: a study. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926. Cf. PQ, VI, 182.

Rev. by H. V. D. Dyson in *MLR*, XXII (1927), 465-66; by Caroline F. Tupper in *JEGP*, XXVI (1927), 269-71; by L. F. Powell in *RES*, IV (1928), 111-13.

Thomas Gray

Bradner, Leicester. "Dr. Wharton's translations of Gray's Latin poems." MP, XXV (1927), 124-27.

Toynbee, Paget. "Gray's imitation of Cowley." TLS, Oct. 20, 1927, p. 742.

Toynbee, Paget. "Gray's visit to Oxfordshire in 1760." TLS, July 21 and 28, 1927, pp. 504 and 520.

Toynbee, Paget. "The text of Norton Nicholls's 'Reminiscences of Gray." TLS, Sept. 1, 1927, p. 592.

Whibley, Leonard. "Thomas Gray and Norton Nicholls." TLS, May 5, 1927, p. 318.

Comment by R. Martin, ibid., May 12, 1927, p. 336.

George Savile, Lord Halifax

The Lady's New Year gift; or advice to a daughter. By the late Lord Marquis of Halifax. Edited and with a preface by Bonamy Dobrée. London: Cayme Press, 1927.

"George Savile, Lord Halifax." TLS, Dec. 15, 1927, pp. 941-42.

David Hume

Taylor, A. E. David Hume and the miraculous. The Leslie Stephen lecture for 1927. Cambridge: University Press, 1927.

Samuel Johnson

(See also Sir Thomas Browne)

Samuel Johnson: writer. A selection. Edited, with an introduction, by S. C. Roberts. London: Herbert Jenkins, 1927.

The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia, a tale. By Samuel Johnson. Edited by R. W. Chapman. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

An excellent edition. Typographically it is beyond praise: Rasselas has been reprinted many times but surely never in a more beautiful form. Nor is the work of the editor within the limits which he has set for himself (there is no literary or historical commentary) any less admirable in its precision and sobriety. The text followed is that of the second edition (June, 1759), corrected by the restoration of the reading or punctuation of the first edition (April, 1759) in a few places where these had been altered "not deliberately but by inadvertence." An appendix lists all variations "of the slightest consequence" between these two editions, including a few not noted by O. F. Emerson in his paper on "The text of Johnson's Rasselas" (Anglia, XXII [1899], 499-509). There is no reason to think that Johnson ever reviewed the text after the second edition, but for the sake of completeness all variations "of any possible importance" between the second edition and the fourth (1766) are likewise included. The text is preceded by a brief Introduction dealing with the history of the composition and publication of Rasselas and with Johnson's habits of revision. Some of the facts given here are new, and the deductions are for the most part sound. On a few points, however, it is possible to add supplementary information from sources not consulted by Mr. Chapman. P. xi, n. 2: Strahan was the printer. The evidence is given by R. A. Austen Leigh in his article on "William Strahan and his ledgers" in the Library, N. S., III (1923), 283-84. From this same source we also learn that the first edition comprised 1,500 copies and that there was a charge of £2 4s 6d for extra corrections. P. xv: for Morning chromicle read London chronicle. The earliest advertisement of Rasselas I have noted is in the Public advertiser for Friday, Mar. 30, 1759, where it is announced for publication "next Thursday." This announcement is repeated in the issue for the following day; after that there is no further mention of the work until April 13, when i

stand the following comment on Boswell's remarks concerning the relations of Rasselas and Candide: "Now Candide was published before the end of February; and it is hardly necessary to point out that a book which was written in a week might have been imitated from one which was published some six weeks earlier. Boswell's report is perhaps not quite correct." But all the evidence points to the fact that Rasselas, begun toward the end of January, was in press by the end of March, and that, although Candide was printed in Geneva in February, no copies seem to have been known in England until J. Nourse brought out an edition of the French text on April 26 (see the Public advertiser for that date). The first translation did not appear until May 19 (ibid.). P. xxi: apropos of the tradition, here shown to be without foundation, that Johnson's tale was not originally called Rasselas, it may be noted that the first edition was regularly advertised as Rasselas, Prince of Abbissinia, a tale. See the London chronicle for April 10-12, 12-14, and 19-21.

Papers written by Dr. Johnson and Dr. Dodd in 1777. Printed from the originals in the possession of A. Edward Newton, Esq. With an introduction and notes by R. W. Chapman. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

The Vanity of human wishes, 1749. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

A type-facsimile of the first edition, with a record of the variant readings of the edition of 1755.

Babbitt, Irving. "Dr. Johnson and imagination." Southwest review, XIII (1927), 25-35.

This article is an instance of what Professor Babbitt calls "judicial scholar-ship." It does not merely describe Johnson's attitude towards the imagination, but judges that attitude according to its distance from what Professor Babbitt considers—here and in his other works—the proper use of the imagination: the employment of it, "disciplined to normal human experience," to achieve an illusion through which a higher reality may be grasped—the use of illusion to obtain truth. Professor Babbitt finds that, though Johnson condemned the wrong use of the imagination to day-dream and delude, he did not understand its right use and condemned it in both literature and life. In this he was in harmony with his age, for "the imagination was under suspicion in the neoclassic period." Like other neo-classicists, too, he failed to see how fiction could aid the discovery of truth.

Professor Babbitt points out some interesting illustrations of Johnson's resistance to illusion, but his sweeping statements concerning neo-classic distrust of imagination are, I think, exaggerated. The neo-classicist distrusted only the undisciplined use of the faculty; the disciplined imagination he required. The following is a typical neo-classic statement: "In a good poem, whether it be epic or dramatic; as also in sonnets, epigrams, and other pieces, both judgment and fancy are required..." (Hobbes, Of man, pt. I, sect. 8). This was a doctrine preached by Pope and Addison.

That the neo-classicists could hardly help respecting the imagination is shown by their conceptions of the creative act. The central psychological theory was that of Hobbes and Locke, according to which the judgment separates the impressions stored in the memory by the senses and the imagination joins and relates them. Imagination, therefore, was as necessary to controlled thinking as judgment and shared in its good repute. When not thus mechanically conceived the same or greater respect was granted to controlled imagination, and, whether mechanically conceived or not, to the cognate faculty of "original genius" and the power of "invention."

of "original genius" and the power of "invention."

One wonders in retrospect whether this indicting of the dead for lacking a concept which their age had not does not distort the focus of history.—

F. B. K.

Cuming, A. "A copy of Shakespeare's Works which formerly belonged to Dr. Johnson." RES, III (1927), 208-12.

The set was used by Johnson in preparing his Dictionary and his edition of Shakespeare.

- Hawkins, L. M. Gossip about Dr. Johnson and others, being chapters from the memoirs of Miss Laetitia Matilda Hawkins. Edited by F. H. Skrine. London: Nash and Grayson, 1927.
- Powell, L. F. "Johnson's part in *The Adventurer*." RES, III (1927), 420-29.

Much fresh light on the literary and financial history of the paper, including fairly convincing evidence that Johnson wrote the four papers subscribed "Misargyrus" (Nos. 34, 41, 53, 62), which were not accepted as his by Boswell, Malone, or Hill.

- Reade, Aleyn Lyell. "The duration of Johnson's residence at Oxford." TLS, Sept. 15, 1927.
- Roberts, S. C. "Johnson's books." LM, XVI (1927), 615-24.
- Roberts, S. C. "On the death of Dr. Robert Levet—a note on the text." RES, III (1927), 442-45.
- "The text of the Gentleman's Magazine [Aug., 1783] should be restored, subject to the correction of what is certainly a printer's error in 1. 17, and of what may very likely be a similar error in 1. 36."
- Tinker, C. B. "Flaxman's medallion of Dr. Johnson." TLS, Mar. 10, 1927, p. 160.
- Whibley, Charles. "Samuel Johnson: man of letters." Blackwood's magazine, CCXXI (1927), 663-72.

William King

Williams, George G. "Dr. William King, humorist." Sewanee review, XXXV (1927), 2-14.

Discursive remarks on King's life and writings.

William Law

Hobhouse, Stephen. William Law and eighteenth-century Quakerism, including some unpublished letters and fragments of William Law and John Byrom. London: Allen and Unwin, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, Oct. 6, 1927, p. 679.

John Locke

The Correspondence of John Locke and Edward Clarke. Edited, with a biographical study, by Benjamin Rand. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1927.

Rev. by W. R. S. in *Mind*, XXXVI (1927), 507-09; in *TLS*, Aug. 11, 1927, p. 544.

The correspondence extends from 1672 to 1704.

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Lamprecht, Sterling P. "Locke's attack upon innate ideas." *Philosophical review*, XXXVI (1927), 145-65.

Rev. by E. B. in Revue d'histoire de la philosophie, II (1928), 109-10 (a very important article).

Andrew Marvell

The Poems and letters of Andrew Marvell. Edited by H. M. Margoliouth. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. 2 vols. Rev. in N & Q, CLIII (1927), 232-33; in TLS, Sept. 22, 1927.

William Mason

Satirical poems published anonymously by William Mason, with notes by Horace Walpole. Now first printed from his manuscript. Edited, with an exposé of the mystification, notes and index, by Paget Toynbee. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cf. PQ, VI, 185.

Rev. by Oswald Doughty in RES, III (1927), 363-66; by John W. Draper in MLN, XLII (1927), 468-71 (points out numerous errors in the text); by G. C. M. S[mith] in MLR, XXII (1927), 117.

Whibley, Leonard. "William Mason, poet and biographer." Blackwood's magazine, CCXXII (1927), 514-27.

John Milton: see Henry More

Edward Moore

Caskey, John Homer. The life and works of Edward Moore. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1927.

Rev. in N & Q, CLIII (1927), 414.

This Yale dissertation is a useful addition to the list of monographs dealing with minor men of letters of the eighteenth century. It is based on wide reading and it deals in a workmanlike way with the problems raised by Moore's early life and education and by his brief career as poet, dramatist, political writer, and editor. It is clearly superior to its only predecessor in the field—the German dissertation of Hugo Beyer (1889). I have noted a few slips, none of them very important. P. 157: it is hardly accurate to speak of "the new interest in graveyard poetry" apropos of a song published in 1752. P. 163: I know of no evidence that Goldsmith, whose literary career did not begin until after Moore's death, was ever one of his friends. P. 164: the reference here to the "poverty in which he [Moore] had lived and died" is hard to reconcile with the statement on p. 92 that "in 1753, Moore came into good fortune that was to last for the rest of his life" (cf. also p. 153).

· Henry More

Nicolson, Marjorie H. "Milton and the Conjectura cabbalistica." PQ, VI (1927), 1-18.

An admirably lucid study of the likenesses between Milton and More in their conceptions of the creation of the universe, the creation and nature of man, and the fall. It is not contended that Milton borrowed from More, al-

though, as the Conjectura cabbalistica was published in 1653, borrowing was of course possible, but merely that the two men were affected in a similar way by the same current of ideas. When the hypothesis of a cabbalistic strain in Paradise lost was first stated by Denis Saurat in 1922, it was greeted with some incredulity; Miss Nicolson makes clear that, considering the intellectual atmosphere in which Milton's epic was written, such an influence need surprise no one. Incidentally she helps us to understand why it was that the Cabbala appealed so strongly to idealistic Englishmen like More during the second quarter of the seventeenth century.

Sir Isaac Newton

- Dunn, S. G. "Newton and Wordsworth." TLS, Aug. 25, 1927, p. 576.
- Isaac Newton, 1642-1727: a memorial volume. Edited for The Mathematical Association by W. J. Greenstreet. London: Bell, 1927
- "Isaac Newton (December 25, 1642—March 20, 1727)." TLS, Mar. 17, 1927, pp. 167-68.

Comment by G. M. Trevelyan, ibid., Mar. 24, 1927, p. 215.

Snow, A. J. "The rôle of mathematics and hypothesis in Newton's physics." *Scientia*, XLII (1927), 1-10.

Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery

(See also John Dryden)

Clark, William S. "The early stage history of the first heroic play." MLN, XLII (1927), 381-83.

A performance at Dublin on Oct. 18, 1662 of the Earl of Orrery's The General.

Thomas Otway

The Complete works of Thomas Otway. Edited by Montague Summers. London: Nonesuch Press, 1927. 3 vols. Rev. in TLS, Mar. 3, 1927, pp. 133-34.

Thomas Paine

Best, Mary Agnes. Thomas Paine: prophet and martyr of democracy. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1927.

The writer of this book has an ardent admiration for Paine and an intense conviction that justice has not been done him by posterity. Otherwise she has no qualifications whatever for the task of writing a new biography. She does nothing toward fitting Paine into his historical setting, and her narrative of events is incoherent and badly written, interrupted by long undigested quotations and passages of hysterical hero-worship. In short, a worthless compilation.

Samuel Pepys

Whitear, Walter H. More Pepysiana: being notes on the Diary of

Samuel Pepys and on the genealogy of the family, with corrected pedigrees. London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1927. Rev. in TLS, July 21, 1927, p. 500.

Thomas Percy

Milner-Barry, Alda and L. F. Powell. "A further note on Hau Kiou Choaan." RES, III (1927), 214-18.

Bibliographical notes on the two issues (1761 and 1774), with a brief discussion of Percy's part in the translation.

Sir William Pettu

The Petty papers: some unpublished writings of Sir William Petty. Edited from the Bowood papers by the Marquis of Lansdowne. London: Constable, 1927. 2 vols.

Rev. in TLS, Nov. 10, 1927, p. 803.

John Philips

The Poems of John Philips. Edited by M. G. Lloyd Thomas. Oxford: Blackwell, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, Nov. 17, 1927, p. 835.

Alexander Pope

Case, Arthur E. "Notes on the bibliography of Pope." MP, XXIV (1927), 297-313.

Details supplementary to the first volume of R. H. Griffith's Alexander Pope: a bibliography (1922) and to G. Sherburn's review of that work in MP, XXII (1925), 327-36.

Griffith, Reginald Harvey. Alexander Pope: a bibliography. Volume I, Part II, Pope's own writings, 1735-1751. Austin: Published by the University of Texas, 1927.

Professor Griffith continues the good work admirably. Here he examines and describes, with the care that we now expect from him, 325 books. The volume completes a survey of the field of first editions of all important works, and unless he turns immediately to Popiana, Professor Griffith's next volume will be more perfunctory than the two now completed. The great puzzle here is the tangle of editions of the poet's letters. One can now study as never before this problem and its implications as to Pope's character.

The Introduction to the volume is especially illuminating on various complications in book-making and marketing in the period. The comment on Pope as a business man (pp. xlvi, xlvii) is likewise valuable for an understanding of the poet's personality.—G. S.

Lotspeich, C. M. "The metrical technique of Pope's illustrative couplets." JEGP, XXVI (1927), 471-74.

An interpretation of lines 364-73 of the Essay on criticism. Rather obvious points.

Matthew Prior

Occasional verses, 1702-1719. By Matthew Prior. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

C[hapman], R. W. "Prior's poems, 1709." RES, III (1927), 76. Four cancels in this edition.

Allan Ramsay

Chapman, R. W. "Allan Ramsay's Poems, 1720." RES. III (1927), 343-46.

Sir Joshua Reynolds

Johnson and Garrick: two dialogues. By Sir Joshua Reynolds. With an introduction by R. Brimley Johnson. London: The Cavme Press. 1927.

Samuel Richardson

"Prévost's translations of Richardson's Wilcox, Frank Howard. novels." University of California Publications in modern philology, XII (1927), 341-411.

Rev. by Georges Ascoli in RC, LXI (1927), 455-56; by M. E. I. R. in MLR,

XXIII (1928), 114-115.

"This study," says the author, "is an attempt to illustrate certain characterrans study, says the author, sain attempt to mustrate certain characteristics of French taste in the eighteenth century by an examination of the changes which Prévost introduced into his versions of Richardson's novels.' It contains five chapters and a conclusion. Chapter I is of doubtful value: the facts which it presents concerning Prévost's rôle as an interpreter of England in his novels and in the *Pour et contre* are familiar to all students of the period and should probably have been taken for granted; the last section of the chapter on standards of translation is circle on the contract. of the chapter—on standards of translation in eighteenth-century France—is based on too scanty a documentation to be of much utility. Chapter II, which gives a general account of Prévost's translations of Richardson and in particular disposes of the tradition that he translated *Pamela* as well as *Clarissa* and Sir Charles Grandison, is more satisfactory. The best of the book, however, is in Chapters III-V. Here the author describes at length and with well selected illustrations the changes which Prévost made in the text of Richardson selected illustrations the changes which Prévost made in the text of Richardson in order (1) to adapt it to the reigning French dislike of vulgarity, extravagance, and unrestrained expression of feeling, (2) to attenuate the realism, especially in the descriptions of mental states, in the interest of the story, and (3) to lessen the amount of moralizing. Thanks to the precision of the analysis, one cannot read these chapters without an enhanced understanding not only of "certain characteristics of French taste in the eighteenth century" but of the distinguishing qualities of Richardson himself. They are excellent examples of a type of study which could be applied with profit to other writers, both French and English, of the eighteenth century.

John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester

(Isaacs, J. "The Earl of Rochester's Grand Tour." RES, III (1927), 75-76.

Prinz, Johannes. John Wilmot Earl of Rochester, his life and writings, with his Lordship's private correspondence, various other documents, and a bibliography of his works and of the literature on him. Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1927.



Williamson, George. "The Restoration Petronius." University of California chronicle, XXIX (1927), 273-80.

A sympathetic essay on Rochester. Negligible from a scholarly point of view.

Sir Charles Sedley

Pinto, V. de Sola. Sir Charles Sedley, 1639-1701: a study in the life and literature of the Restoration. London: Constable, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, Aug. 18, 1927, p. 559.

Thomas Shadwell

- The Complete works of Thomas Shadwell. Now first collected and edited by the Rev. Montague Summers. London: Fortune Press, 1927. 5 vols.
- Ham, Roswell G. "Shadwell and 'The Tory poets.'" N & Q, CLII (1927), 6-8.
- Thorn-Drury, G. "Shadwell and the operatic Tempest." RES, III (1927), 204-08.

A reply to the note by D. M. Walmsley, ibid., II, 463-64.

Walmsley, D. M. "Shadwell and the operatic Tempest." RES, III (1927), 451-53.

A rejoinder to the preceding.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury

Bandini, Luigi. "Bene, virtù et 'senso morale' nello Shaftesbury." Logos: rivista internazionale di filosofia, X (1927), 28-42, 182-210.

Extract from a forthcoming volume on La dottrina morale di Shaftesbury.

William Shenstone

Men and manners. By William Shenstone. Selected and introduced by Havelock Ellis. London: Golden Cockerel Press, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, Aug. 11, 1927, p. 545.

Williams, Marjorie. "Shenstone and his friends." TLS, Sept. 1, 1927, pp. 591-92.

Richard Brinsley Sheridan

An Ode to Scandal, together with A portrait. By Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Edited by R. Crompton Rhodes. Oxford: Blackwell, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, Apr. 14, 1927, p. 263. See ibid., Apr. 28, May 12, and May 26, pp. 299, 336, and 375, for a discussion of the authenticity of the Ode to Scandal.

Rhodes, R. Crompton. "Sheridan: a study in theatrical bibliography." LM, XV (1927), 381-90.

Christopher Smart

- Abbott, Charles David. "The date of Christopher Smart's confinement." TLS, Nov. 3, 1927, p. 790.
- Whibley, Leonard. "The jubilee at Pembroke Hall in 1743." Blackwood's magazine, CCXXI (1927), 104-15.

New facts concerning this celebration, for which Smart wrote "A secular ode on the jubilee at Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1743."

Adam Smith

Hollander, Jacob H. "Adam Smith, 1776-1926." Journal of political economy, XXXV (1927), 153-97.

An interesting paper on Smith's background and influence.

- Morrow, Glenn R. "Adam Smith: moralist and philosopher." Journal of political economy, XXXV (1927), 321-42.
- Viner, Jacob. "Adam Smith and laissez faire." Journal of political economy, XXXV (1927), 198-232.

This is a very expert piece of work, scholarly and penetrating. Professor Viner starts with the statement that "Smith's major claim to fame... seems to rest on his elaborate and detailed application to the economic world of the concept of a unified natural order, operating according to natural law, and if left to its own course producing results beneficial to mankind." Of this contribution of Adam Smith's he traces the development through the Theory of moral sentiments and the Wealth of nations, finding Smith's economic "optimism" unqualified in the earlier book, but much modified in the Wealth of nations. This modification he studies in detail and shows convincingly that in this work Smith was no such complete advocate of laissez faire as is often supposed. Incidentally, light is thrown on the development of "optimism" in the later eighteenth century.

When stating Smith's originality in developing the concept of laissez faire Professor Viner might perhaps have mentioned Mandeville's earlier presentation of this philosophy in his Fable of the bees.—F. B. K.

Tobias Smollett

The Letters of Tobias Smollett, M. D. Collected and edited by Edward S. Noves. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926. Cf. PQ, VI, 189.

Rev. by E. A. Baker in *RES*, III (1927), 361-63; by A. W. Secord in *MLN*, XLIII (1928), 138-40; by G. S[herburn] in *MP*, XXIV (1927), 380.

Buck, Howard Swazey. Smollett as poet. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, Sept. 8, 1927, p. 603.

Buck, Howard Swazey. A study in Smollett. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925. Cf. PQ, V, 369; VI, 189.

Rev. by H. Schöffler in Beiblatt, XXXVIII (1927), 137-38; by G. S[herburn] in MP, XXIV (1927), 380.

Noyes, Edward S. "Another Smollett letter." MLN, XLII (1927), 231-35.

A letter to John Moore, Aug. 19, 1762, printed in the New Scots magazine for Dec., 1829. Throws light on Smollett's connection with the Critical review.

Stein, Harold. "Smollett's imprisonment." TLS, May 5, 1927, p. 318.

Fixes the exact dates.

Thomas Spence

Rudkin, Olive D. Thomas Spence and his connections. London: Allen and Unwin, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, June 9, 1927, p. 398.

Laurence Sterne

The Shakespeare Head edition of the works of Laurence Sterne. Oxford: Blackwell, 1927. 7 vols.

Caskey, J. Homer. "Two notes on Uncle Toby." MLN, XLII (1927), 321-23.

Possible borrowings from Edward Moore.

Curtis, Lewis P. "Sterne and 'sentimental.'" TLS, June 23, 1927, p. 440.

Reply by Margaret R. B. Shaw, ibid., July 21, 1927, p. 504.

Glaesener, Henri. "Laurence Sterne et Xavier de Maistre." RLC, VII (1927), 459-79.

"Laurence Sterne." TLS, May 26, 1927, pp. 361-62.

Jonathan Swift

Gulliver's travels. The text of the first edition, with an introduction, bibliography, and notes by Harold Williams. London: The First Edition Club, 1926. Cf. PQ, VI, 190.

Rev. by H. C. Hutchins in *RES*, III (1927), 466-73; by E. Pons in *RAA*, V (1927), 158-60.

Gulliver's travels (extraits). Avec une introduction et des notes par Émile Pons. Paris: Hachette, [1927].

This book is an abridgment of Gulliver intended primarily for the use of French lycées. But it is far from being an ordinary text-book. The editor, who is one of the most distinguished of living students of Swift, has included a commentary which not only sums up admirably the most important results of recent scholarship on the sources of Gulliver but on a number of points—for example, the meaning of the Lilliputian language, the continuity of inspiration between Gulliver and Swift's earlier works, and the Irish background of the last two books—adds something new. Among the longer and more interesting notes may be mentioned those on pp. 114 (Swift's conception of relativity), 251 (the academy of Lagado), 264 (the identification of political vices with diseases), 279 (the Struldbrugs), and 303 and 306 (the Yahoos). The Introduction contains an excellent brief sketch of Swift's life to 1726 and a useful synopsis of the relations between Gulliver and earlier

imaginary voyages. P. 251: the William King who wrote the Transactioneer was not Archbishop King.

Firth, C. H. "The canon of Swift." RES, III (1927), 73-74.

Calls attention to a contemporary ascription of Jack Frenchman's lamentation (see RES, II, 322-28) to Congreve.

- Hearsey, Marguerite. "New light on the evidence for Swift's marriage." PMLA, XLII (1927), 157-61.
- White, Newport B. "Bibliography of Dean Swift." TLS, June 9, 1927, p. 408.
- Williams, Harold. "A misplaced paragraph in 'Gulliver's travels." TLS, July 28, 1927, p. 520.
 - Cf. ibid., June 30, 1927, p. 460, and RES, III (1927), 471-73.
- Williams, Harold. "The canon of Swift." RES, III (1927), 212-14.

Further discussion of the authorship of Jack Frenchman's lamentation, with remarks on other doubtful pieces.

James Thomson

- Cameron, Margaret M. L'influence des Saisons de Thomson sur la poésie descriptive en France (1759-1810). Paris: Champion, 1927. ("Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée," No. 37.)
- Case, Arthur E. "Aaron Hill and Thomson's Sophonisba." MLN, XLII (1927), 175-76.
- C[hapman], R. W. "The Castle of indolence." RES, III (1927), 456.

John Toland

Lantoine, Albert. Un précurseur de la franc-maçonnerie, John Toland. Paris: Emile Nourry, 1927.

Rev. by A. Mathiez in Annales historiques de la Révolution française, V (1928), 74.

Sir Samuel Tuke

The Adventures of five hours. By Sir Samuel Tuke. Reprinted from the folio of 1663 and the third impression of 1671, together with Coello's Los empeños de seis horas. Edited by A. E. H. Swaen. Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1927.

Rev. by A. Nicoll in MLR, XXIII (1928), 78-79; by Mario Praz in English studies, IX (1927), 118-22.

The Adventures of five hours. By Sir Samuel Tuke. With an introduction by the Rev. Montague Summers. London: Holden, 1927. (The "Covent Garden" series of Restoration plays, edited by B. van Thal.)

Rev. in TLS, Jan. 5, 1928, p. 15.

Edmund Waller

(See also Sir John Denham)

Grierson, H. J. C. "Poems by Waller." TLS, Dec. 29, 1927, p. 989.

Horace Walpole

(See also William Mason)

Strawberry Hill accounts, kept by Mr. Horace Walpole from 1747 to 1795. Now first printed by Paget Toynbee. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

Rev. by Sir Edmund Gosse in the Sunday Times, June 26, 1927, p. 8; in TLS, May 19, 1927, p. 350.

Dobson, Austin. Horace Walpole, a memoir, with an appendix of books printed at the Strawberry Hill press. Fourth edition, revised and enlarged by Paget Toynbee. London: Oxford University Press, 1927.

The third edition of this book appeared in 1910. Since then many new documents relating to Walpole have come to light, notably the letters of Madame du Deffand, first published by Mrs. Paget Toynbee in 1912, and the early correspondence with Gray, West, and Ashton, edited by Mr. Toynbee in 1915. In the light of this fresh material the text of Dobson's Memoir has been corrected and in a few places enlarged, and many additions have been made to the notes. The revision greatly enhances the value of a book which, by reason of its charm of manner, has long had a place among the best short biographies of eighteenth-century men of letters.

Stuart, Dorothy Margaret. Horace Walpole. London: Macmillan, 1927. ("English men of letters series.")

Toynbee, Paget. "Horace Walpole's 'Delenda est Oxonia." "EHR, XLII (1927), 95-108.

Contains the text of a suppressed pamphlet by Walpole, 1749.

The Wartons

The Three Wartons: a choice of their verse. Edited with a note and a select bibliography by Eric Partridge. London: The Scholartis Press, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, Jan. 5, 1928, p. 9.

Smith, Audley L. "The primitivism of Joseph Warton." MLN, XLII (1927), 501-04.

An interesting study of Warton's use of Lucretius in The Enthusiast.

John Wesley

Hutton, William Holden. The life of John Wesley. London: Macmillan, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, Apr. 21, 1927, p. 274.

Simon, John. John Wesley, the master builder. London: The Epworth Press, 1927.

Rev. in *TLS*, Sept. 8, 1927, p. 600. Covers the period from 1757 to 1772.

Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea

Murry, J. Middleton. "Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea (1661-1720)." New Adelphi, I (1927), 145-53.

Mary Wollstonecraft

Godwin, William. Memoirs of Mary Wollstonecraft. Edited, with a preface and a supplement, by W. Clark Durant. London: Constable, 1927.

Rev. in TLS, June 23, 1927, p. 434.

Arthur Young

- Gay, Edwin F. "Arthur Young on English roads." Quarterly journal of economics, XLI (1927), 545-51.
- Sée, Henri. "La valeur historique des 'Voyages en France' d' Arthur Young." Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne, Brussels, 1926.

V. THE CONTINENTAL BACKGROUND

Ascoli, Georges. "Histoire littéraire, XVIII° siècle." RSH, XLIII (1927), 150-54.

Notes on recent publications relating to French literature in the eighteenth century.

- Aubignac, L'Abbé d'. La pratique du théatre. Nouvelle édition, avec des corrections et des additions inédites de l'auteur, une préface et des notes par Pierre Martino. Paris: Champion, 1927.
- Bray, René. La formation de la doctrine classique en France. Paris: Hachette, 1927.

Rev. by H. C. Lancaster in *MLN*, XLII (1927), 414-16; by W. A. N[itze] in *MP*, XXV (1927), 246; by Arthur Tilley in *MLR*, XXIII (1928), 88-91; in *RLC*, VII (1927), 554.

This book is a study of literary theory in France from about 1600 to about

This book is a study of literary theory in France from about 1600 to about 1670—an important period, of which previous investigators have given only an incomplete or one-sided account. The matter is arranged in four parts. The first deals with the origins of the classical doctrine, with special emphasis on the Italian influence and the cult of Aristotle; the second, with the fundamental principles of the doctrine (the utilitarian aims of poetry, the respective parts of genius and art in the poet's inspiration, the necessity of rules and their foundation in reason, the imitation of nature, and the imitation of the ancients); the third, with the rules common to various genres (verisimilitude, decorum, the unities, etc.); and the fourth, with the rules peculiar to particular genres (tragedy, tragicomedy, comedy, heroic poetry, pastoral, lyric, and satire). So far as one can judge who is not a specialist in the field, the author has

done a thorough and careful piece of work. He has read extensively—his bibliography contains the names of close to a hundred writers; he has asked, in the main, the right questions; and he has built his results into a clearly organized and well-proportioned volume, which no one who is interested in the doctrinal aspects of neo-classicism can afford to neglect. The only quarrel I have with the book is that its method is perhaps too exclusively descriptive. It is not enough to be told what the theorists of literature thought about such matters as the rules, the obligation to imitate nature, or the relations between the imagination and the reason. We want to know why it was natural for them to think as they did—why, in fact, they could hardly have thought otherwise. In a word, we want an explanatory study of literary theory, in which the doctrines of the critics are interpreted in the light of the basic assumptions and points of view dominant in other fields of speculation at the time. Such a study, at once precise in its analysis and comprehensive in its scope, is, I believe, one of the outstanding desiderata in the domain with which M. Bray's book is concerned. I regret that he has not undertaken it. But the lack can be supplied in the future, and in the meantime he has written a book which, within the limits of its plan, contains a vast amount of well digested and useful information, much of which is accessible in no other place.

Brewer, Edward V. "Lessing and 'the corrective virtue in comedy." JEGP, XXVI (1927), 1-23.

Lessing studied in the light of the controversy, precipitated by Shaftesbury, over laughter as a "test of truth."

Brunschvieg, Léon. "Mathématique et métaphysique chez Descartes." Revue de métaphysique et de morale, XXXIV (1927), 277-324.

Apropos of Gilson's edition of the Discours de la méthode.

Croce, Benedetto. "Il pensiero italiano nel seicento, V-VI." La Critica, XXV (1927), 1-37, 69-84.

Croce, Benedetto. "La poesia e la letteratura italiana nel seicento." La Critica, XXV (1927), 133-57, 197-224, 269-99, 341-59.

Daudin, Henri. De Linné à Jussieu: méthodes de la classification et idée de série en botanique et en zoologie (1740-1790). Paris: Alcan, 1926.

Rev. by Emile Bréhier in Revue d'histoire de la philosophie, I (1927), 359-61; by Lucien Febvre in RSH, XLIII (1927), 37-60; by W. K. Gregory in Journal of philosophy, XXIV (1927), 633-35; in TLS, July 14, 1927, p. 482.

Eggli, Edmond. Schiller et le romantisme français. Paris: J. Gamber, 1927. 2 vols.

Rev. by J. G. Robertson in MLR, XXIII (1928), 91-94.

Ermatinger, Emil. Barock und Rokoko in der deutschen Dichtung. Leipzig: Teubner, 1926.

Rev. by Karl Viëtor in Deutsche Literaturzeitung, June 18, 1927, cols. 1201-07.

Green, Frederick C. "The critic of the seventeenth century and his attitude toward the French novel." MP, XXIV (1927), 285-95.

Grossman, Mordecai. The philosophy of Helvétius, with special

- emphasis on the educational implications of sensationalism. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926.
- Rev. by E. N. Henderson in Journal of philosophy, XXIV (1927), 498-99.
- Gurvitch, Georges. "La philosophie du droit de Hugo Grotius et la théorie moderne du droit international." Revue de métaphysique et de morale, XXXIV (1927), 365-91.
- Hayes, Carlton J. H. "Contributions of Herder to the doctrine of nationalism." AHR, XXXII (1927), 719-36.
- Hubert, René. "La formation des idées politiques de Rousseau du Premier au Second Discours." Revue d'histoire de la philosophie, I (1927), 406-36.
 - An extract from a forthcoming book on Rousseau et l'Encyclopédie.
- Hubert, René. "Revue critique de quelques ouvrages récents relatifs à la philosophie de Malebranche." Revue d'histoire de la philosophie, I (1927), 269-93.
- Jacoubet, Henri. "Comment on lisait au XVIII^e siècle le roman de Tristan et Iseut." *RHL*, XXXIV (1927), 517-44.
- Jacquart, Jean. Un témoin de la vie littéraire au XVIII° siècle: l'abbé Trublet, critique et moraliste (1697-1770). Paris: Picard, 1926.
 - Rev. by A. Brulé in RAA, V (1927), 175-76.
- Johansson, J. Viktor. Études sur Denis Diderot: recherches sur un volume-manuscrit conservé à la Bibliothèque publique de l'État à Leningrad. Göteborg: Wettergren & Kerbers; Paris: Champion, 1927.
- Lanson, Gustave. Esquisse d'une histoire de la tragédie française. Nouvelle édition revue et corrigée. Paris: Champion, 1927.
- Lanson, René. Le goût du moyen âge en France au XVIII° siècle. Paris: G. Vanoest, 1927.
- Laporte, J. "Le cœur et la raison selon Pascal." Revue philosophique, CIII (1927), 93-118, 255-99, 421-51.

 An important article.
- Lenoir, Raymond. Les historiens de l'esprit humain: Fontenelle, Marivaux, Lord Bolingbroke, Vauvenargues, La Mettrie. Paris: Alcan, 1926.
- Lenoir, Raymond. "Le mesmérisme et le système du monde." Revue d'histoire de la philosophie, I (1927), 192-218, 294-320.
- Lévy-Bruhl, L. "Les tendances générales de Bayle et de Fontenelle." Revue d'histoire de la philosophie, I (1927), 49-68.
- Looten, C. La première controverse internationale sur Shakespeare

entre l'abbé Leblanc et W. Guthrie, 1745-1747-1748. Lille: Facultés catholiques, 1927.

Magendie, Maurice. Du nouveau sur l'Astrée. Paris: Champion, 1927.

Minderhoud, H. J. La Henriade dans la littérature hollandaise. Paris: Champion, 1927. ("Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée," No. 34.)

Moorhead, M. Dorothy. "Les Ruines de Volney." French quarterly, IX (1927), 138-46.

A rather superficial analysis of the content of Volney's book, with some indication of its significance.

Mornet, Daniel. "Philosophie de la littérature ou histoire de la littérature." Romanic review, XVIII (1927), 103-13.

A discussion of method in literary history inspired by Spingarn's review of Magendie's La Politesse mondaine (Romanic review, XVII, 71-73) and by Folkierski's Entre le classicisme et le romantisme. Under the name of "philosophie de la littérature" the writer attacks two tendencies in current literary study—hasty and over-ambitious syntheses and attempts to organize the interpretation of literary or intellectual developments on an international basis. The second of these tendencies he seems to look upon as a specific case of the first. Folkierski's book perhaps affords some warrant for this view, and M. Mornet makes some excellent points in criticism of that author's unhistorical treatment of Diderot (pp. 109-10) and of his haphazard selection of writers for study (p. 111). But the case for the historical study of common trends in European thought and literature is too solid to be disposed of by a single instance of defective method, and I cannot help thinking that much of M. Mornet's argument is beside the point. At the same time he has written a provocative article, which should lead to a more precise definition of the aims and technique of "littérature générale."

Mornet, Daniel. [Reviews of F. Brunot, Histoire de la langue française, t. VII (1926), of Joseph Dedieu, Histoire politique des protestants français (1925), and of Henri Sée, L'évolution de la pensée politique en France au XVIII^e siècle (1925).] RHL, XXXIV (1927), 444-51.

These three reviews contain interesting remarks on the history of ideas in eighteenth-century France and especially on the methods proper to their investigation.

Mornet, Daniel. "La véritable signification du Neveu de Rameau." Revue des deux mondes, Aug. 15, 1927, pp. 881-908.

Nitze, W. A. "Molière et le mouvement libertin de la Renaissance." *RHL*, XXXIV (1927), 356-76.

An interesting study of the origins of Molière's "naturalism" and of the forms which it takes in his comedies. Professor Nitze perhaps makes too much of Pierre Charron. After all, as he himself acknowledges (pp. 361-63), the leading ideas of De la sagesse had been expressed by Montaigne and others in the preceding century, and they could, consequently, have reached Molière through other channels. But the article is a valuable contribution to our understanding not only of Molière but of the history of ethical naturalism in the Renaissance and seventeenth century.

Prévost, L'Abbé. Mémoires et aventures d'un homme de qualité qui s'est retiré du monde. Tome V: Séjour en Angleterre. Édition critique par Mysie E. I. Robertson. Paris: Champion, ("Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée," No. 38.)

Rev. by G. S[herburn] in MP, XXV (1927), 246-48; in RLC, VII (1927),

600-01; in TLS, Oct. 20, 1927, p. 732. Volume V of the Abbé Prévost's Mémoires d'un homme de qualité reflects largely the author's desire to spread among his own countrymen knowledge and appreciation of England. This is what gives significance to the ninetytwo pages of text for which Miss Robertson has provided a preface and numerous "notes explicatives."

The highlight of the preface is undoubtedly the attempt, by means of newly discovered documents, to show Prévost guilty, as had been previously charged by more or less hostile contemporaries, of trying to obtain money by means of a false draft, subject in consequence, according to the English law of the time, to capital punishment, and barely escaping this fate through the favor of the Eyles family against whom the fraud had been directed. In identifying of the Eyles family against whom the fraud had been directed. In identifying the "Chevalier Ey...," of whose son Prévost was the tutor, with Sir John Eyles rather than with Sir Robert Eyre, Miss Robertson departs from her predecessors and follows the lead of new testimony which, as she herself admits, establishes her theory only "avec une quasi-certitude" (p. 8). On the more important question of Prévost's guilt or innocence, she has discovered in the Sessions Rolls of Middlesex a document reading as follows: "Marc Anthony Prevost, Committed 13th December by Thos. de Veil, Esq. on Oath of Francis Eyles Esq. upon a strong Suspicion of feloniously and falsely making a Promisary Note of the Sum of fifty pounds signed Francis Eyles payable to Mr. Prevost or Order and Uttering the same, knowing it to be false and with an Intent to Defraud him of the said sum of fifty pounds" (p. 14). On the margin is the notation "Discharged." Items in various news-14). On the margin is the notation "Discharged." Items in various newspapers of the time confirm the testimony of this document. The difference in name, Marc-Antoine instead of Antoine-François, while raising some doubt, is not conclusive in favor of Prévost. Moreover, the period in question is a time when Prévost, for reasons which he does not definitely explain, abandoned temporarily the editorship of the Pour et contre. Again the matter remains in doubt, but Miss Robertson has made a very strong case, which the vagueness of Prévost's denials rather supports than refutes and which is bound to be taken into consideration by his future biographers.

The extensive notes on the text are in general sane and remarkably complete. They show the background of Prévost's England, his occasional anachronisms, the way in which his observations generally check with those of other travellers or guide books, in short whatever is necessary for understanding or controlling his text. Rarely does Miss Robertson exaggerate, but she appears to me to do so in regard to Prévost's attitude toward Thomson: "'Quoi qu'il en soit, ce tribut français à Thomson, publié dès 1731, est d'un intérêt qu'on ne saurait exagérer'' (p. 156). Since, however, Prévost merely mentions Thomson's name and links him with Prior and Addison as not in any way inferior ''aux meilleurs Poètes de tous les tems'' (p. 69), and since the sentence is absolutely lacking in definiteness or any sign of personal appreciation, the passage appears entirely undeserving of Miss Robertson's enthusiasm. It is significant also that Prévost does not discuss Thomson in his Pour et contre, where there was every reason for him to do so if he really appreciated him. In her preface (p. 31), Miss Robertson praises Prévost for avoiding the anachronism of speaking in his novel, whose action is supposed Robinson Crusoe (1719), Gulliver's travels (1726), and the Beggar's opera (1728). The plausibility of this praise disappears, however, when we consider that in the Pour et contre Prévost did not treat Robinson Crusoe at all,

that he depreciated Gulliver's travels in favor of Swift's epistles, poems, and "petites pièces," and that he treated the Beggar's opera as merely "une turlupinade, assez ingénieuse à la vérité, mais pleine de traits bas et obscènes."

turlupinade, assez ingénieuse à la vérité, mais pleine de traits bas et obscènes.' One would like proof for so important a statement as the following: "Le ton plus modéré de la critique subséquente (cf. Le Blanc) est dû dans une grande mesure à l'influence de Prévost' (p. 154).

But the occasional statements which may be questioned are few in comparison with the many which are thoroughly sound, giving evidence of painstaking research intelligently interpreted. This critical edition is a valuable addition, not only to our knowledge of the Abbé Prévost, but also to that of Angle-Franch literary relations during the gighteenth century. It will be franche contract the contract of the contract of the second contract of the contra Anglo-French literary relations during the eighteenth century. It will be frequently consulted by students of the period.—G. R. H.

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- Reynaud, Louis. Le romantisme: ses origines anglo-germaniques; influences étrangères et traditions nationales; le réveil du génie français. Paris: A. Colin, 1926.
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BRIEF ARTICLES AND NOTES

NOTES FOR PROMETHEUS UNBOUND

I should like to offer notes for two passages in support of Professor Grabo's article on Shelley in *The Philological Quarterly* of April, 1927. He has already indicated the extent to which Shelley was interested in contemporary science; consequently, since this is in corroboration of his statements, I shall proceed much in the same manner as he did in his article.

T

Ye elemental Genii, who have homes From man's high mind even to the central stone Of sullen lead; from Heaven's star-fretted domes To the dull weed some sea-worm battens on:

(P.U., IV., Il. 539-542)

In this passage Shelley is adapting the Rosierucian terminology to modern chemistry. The "elemental Genii" are the elements considered in present day chemistry. I do not know that the elements of man's brain were being studied at his time, but lead was known, and fallen meteors were being analyzed to discover elements hitherto unknown.¹ The last line, however, is the one which needs explanation, and the explanation lies in the fact that the discovery of iodine was announced in 1814. On January 20 of that year Sir Humphrey Davy read a paper, "Some Experiments and Observations on a new Substance which becomes a violet-coloured gas by Heat." In part the abstract reads as follows:

The discovery now announced to the Society was made about two years since by M. Courtois, a manufacturer of salt petre at Paris. It is produced from the ashes of sea-weeds. . . . The colour of its vapor has occasioned the French chemist to give it the name of iode.²

The article which was originally published in France is reprinted in *Nicholson's Journal*, the *Annals of Philosophy*, and the *Philosophical Magazine* of the same year. In the last named periodical alone there are nine papers recording experiments and speculations on iodine.³ This general interest in the discovery of iodine as evidenced by the number of references to it in scientific publications,

¹ Passim, Abstracts of the Papers printed in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, London, Vols. I and II, 1800-1830.



together with the characteristic of sublimation peculiar to iodine, makes me believe that the reference to the "elemental Genii who have homes" in "the dull weed some sea-worm battens on" can be no other than iodine.

\mathbf{II}

The beams flash on And make appear the melancholy ruins Of cancelled cycles; anchors, beaks of ships; Planks turned to marble; quivers, helms, and spears, And gorgon-headed targes, and the wheels Of scythed chariots, and the emblazonry Of trophies, standards, and armorial beasts, Round which death laughed, sepulchred emblems Of dead destruction, ruin within ruin! The wrecks beside of many a city vast, Whose population which the earth grew over Was mortal, but not human; see, they lie, Their monstrous works, and uncouth skeletons, Their statues, homes and fanes; prodigious shapes Huddled in gray annihilation, split, Jammed in the hard, black deep; over these The anatomies of unknown winged things, And fishes which were isles of living scale, And serpents, bony chains, twisted around The iron crags, or within heaps of dust To which the tortuous strength of their last pangs Had crushed the iron crags; over these The jagged alligator, and the might Of earth-convulsing behemoth, which once Were monarch beasts, and on the slimy shores, And weed-overgrown continents of earth, Increased and multiplied like summer worms On an abandoned corpse, till the blue globe Wrapped deluge round it like a cloke, and they Yelled, gasped, and were abolished; (P.U., IV., 11 287-316)

Undoubtedly there are a number of works which suggested the ideas in the passage just quoted; however, there are a number of passages in James Parkinson's Organic Remains⁴ which are so similar that they may well have been starting points for this description of a prehistoric world. Some of these passages will be quoted and others cited to show the similarity.

Relate to him that Valchius, in his commentary on the Klein Baur, tells of a truly curious fossil man found at Maria Kirch, near Strasburgh, by a miner who, breaking open the hollow of a rock, was astonished at beholding the figure of a man of silver, of five hundred pounds weight. If his interest and aston-

² Ibid., Vol. I, 1800-1814, p. 483.

³ Op. cit., Vol. 43, January to June, 1814, pp. 57, 58, 141, 209, 210, 211, and 270; Vol. 44, July to December, 1814, pp. 3 and 355.

⁴ James Parkinson, Organic Remains, London, Vol. I, 1804; Vol. II, 1808; Vol. III, 1811.

ishment be not hereby sufficiently excited, tell him, we have more tales of wonder in store; of flocks of cattle, of large companies of men, and of even whole cities, with their inhabitants, being converted to stone. I could supply him, from a comparatively modern author, with an account of a troop of Spanish horsemen, who thus underwent the process of petrifaction.

Organic Remains, I, 38.

Tell him, I hope his faith will be comprehensive enough to enable him to receive, with full credit, the accounts delivered by Baptista Fulgosus, Lodovicus Moscardus, and Theodoris Moretus, that a whole ship, with its anchor, broken masts, and forty mariners, with their merchandize, were found, in the year 1460, in a mine fifty fathoms deep, in the neighborhood of Berne, in Switzerland.

Organic Remains, I, 38.

There are a number of references to petrifaction of wood, the four closest parallels being found on pages 55, 121, 313, and 377, of volume one. The closest of these is the one found on page 121:

Mr. Brand informs us, that Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. and President of the Royal Society favored him with an inspection of a large specimen of fossil coal. . . . Some of them are more, and some less woody; one is a fair plank of wood.

Organic Remains, I, 121.

It has been with considerable pleasure that I have heard you describe the terrific magnificence of the caverns of the Peak and several other similar caverns in this island. But these must yield to the caverns of Germany and Hungary, in which we have not only to admire prodigious subterranean excavations, embellished with stalactitic decorations, but to contemplate in an inexhaustible accumulation of the remains of animals of a former world, some of which appear to be unknown to use in a living state.

Many of these have been noticed by different authors. . . . Among the most remarkable of these caverns are those of Gaylenreuth, on the confines of Bayrenth

After a lengthy description of this cavern, Parkinson continues on page 419:

One of the earliest conjectures, after that of these caverns having been temples in which sacrifices had been performed by the earliest inhabitants of these parts, was that they had been the retreats of robbers, and that these were the bones of those they had murdered.

Organic Remains, III, 415, 419.

Chapters XVI and XVII of volume three are devoted to fossil remains of fishes; in them Parkinson describes the scales of fishes being found in a high state of preservation.

Captain William Chapman, in the fiftieth volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*, p. 688, gives an account of finding, on the sea shore, about half a mile from Whitby, part of the bones of an animal appearing to have been an alligator. They were found in a kind of black slate.

Organic Remains, III, 281.

Other animals you will find thus astonishingly entombed, possessing, indeed, many of the anatomical characteristics of animals now existing, but differing so much, in other respects, as to require to be considered, as entirely different from any which are now known to exist. Thus you will behold the bones of an animal, of which the magnitude is so great; as to warrant the conviction, that the bulk of this dreadful, unknown animal, exceeded three

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times that of the lion; and to authorize the belief, that animals have existed, which have possessed, with all the dreadful propensities of that animal, its power of destroying, in a three-fold degree. You will also view the remains of a being of the magnitude, at least, of the elephant; which was armed with tusks, equally dreadful, as a weapon, with those borne by that animal; possessing, in addition to these, enormously huge grinders, supposed to bear the distinctive marks of those creatures, which gain their food, by preying on those of inferior powers and size. The jaws of an animal bearing a near resemblance to those of a crocodile, you will perceive to be armed with teeth, not widely different from those of the shark. In a word, you will be repeatedly astonished by the discovery of the remains of animals, of which no living prototype is to be found.

Organic Remains, I, 10-11. C. A. Brown

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GREEN SHOE-STRINGS1

Colors in costume of sixteenth-century plays do not mean much to a twentieth-century reader or audience, but to a contemporary audience, who knew the symbolism, they conveyed as much meaning as did words. The language of colors was at first intimately connected with religion. By the sixteenth century, however, it had been degraded to secular use.

The lover's colors were the most frequently mentioned or satirized in the literature of that period. Every student of the drama is familiar with Amorphus's directions to Asotus concerning the variety of ribbons he should keep about his person "to be presently answerable to any hourly or half hourly change "in colors of his mistress²; he is familiar also with Berowne's hope that he will never be under the rule of cupid and "wear his colors like a tumbler's hoop!" But the significance of the separate colors has not been understood.

Romanello expresses part of the love symbolism in his sneering remark to Clarella concerning the revelation of woman's heart through the colors of her dress; the hopeful Malvolio wears yellow⁵; the rustic bridegroom wears at least a touch of green⁶; the rejected lover, "black and tawnie, which mourning colors be"; ⁷

¹ This article is part of a larger study, Costume in English Drama 1533-1633, resulting from the writer's tenure of the A. A. U. W. European Fellowship 1927-8.

² Cynthia's Revels, V, ii, 18-22, 29-36.

³ Love's Labour's Lost, III, i, 195. Cp. also Astrophel and Stella, LIV.

⁴ Ford, Fancies Chaste and Noble, III, iii. Gifford, II, 278.

^{5 &}quot;Malvolio's Crossgartered Yellow Stockings," Modern Philology, XXV, 87-93.

⁶ Beaumont and Fletcher, *Prophetess*, V, iii. Cambridge ed., V, 382. Also Greene's *Vision*, Grosart ed., XII, 228.

⁷ Edward Vere, "Complaint of a lover," Paradise of Dainty Devices, 70. Also Tofte, "Alba," Grosart, Occasional Issues, XI, 104.

but an excellent recital of some of the lover's colors is given by Sir Abraham when he is rejected:

Well, since I am disdained, off garters blue! Which signify Sir Abram's love was true; Off cypress black! for thou befits not me; Thou art not cypress of the cypress true Befitting lovers. Out green shoe-strings, out! Wither in pocket.

His reference to green shoe-strings is interesting since it alludes to what may have been a court of love custom. In *L'arrets Amours*, a suitor asks judgment against his rival:

En possession & saisine qu'il ne doit porter la botte fauue pour l'amour elle, —qu'il ne peut pareillement fermer sa botte fauue, d'esquillette verde—qu'il ne doit point aux harnois de ses cheuaux porter la liuree d'elle, n'auoir plus d'une robbe neuue la semaine—ne qu'il ne doit auoir à son bonet, rubas de sove verde.

In another case of "trois compaignos d'amours" complaining against three ladies who had usurped masculine love insignia, the court granted the ladies equal rights with men in wearing yellow shoes with green shoe-strings.¹⁰

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THE USE OF THE WEAK INFLECTION OF THE GOTHIC ADJECTIVE IN A VOCATIVE FUNCTION

As is well known, an adjective used in an exclamation of address usually requires in Gothic the weak declension. To this rule there are a few exceptions, the nature of which has been correctly interpreted, I think, by Professor G. O. Curme in his article "Is the Gothic Bible Gothic?" (J. E. G. P., X. [1910], pp. 368-9).

Professor Curme here points out that wherever (either in Greek or in Gothic) the nominative case form of a noun is used in a vocative function, it gives to the utterance "the force of a declaration or predication as well as that of an exclamation."

In illustration of this principle he cites the two following parallel passages: "hails Þiudans Iudaie!" "Χαῖρε, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων," John xix, 3, and "hails, Þiudan Iudaie!", "Χαῖρε,

⁸ Woman is a Weathercock, Dodsley, Old Plays, XI, 30.

⁹ Martial d'Auvergne, *L'arrets d'amours*, 1460-65. Published 1521 (without pagination). Above references from Gandouin ed., 1581, Paris. "Le V Arret," 29, 30.

¹⁰ Ibid, "Le XLIII Arret," 203.

βασιλεῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων," Mark xv, 18, "Hail, thou King of the Jews."

In the latter passage the vocative case expresses a mere exclamation, whereas in the former passage the nominative case lends to this exclamation the force of a declaration or predication. The passage which has the vocative case (*piudan*) Professor Curme translates by "Hail, King of the Jews" (a formal greeting); the passage which has the nominative case (*piudans*) he renders by "Gesegnet sei der König der Juden" (a definite personal declaration).

There is no doubt in my mind that Professor Curme has correctly interpreted the distinction between the use of the vocative and the nominative case in exclamatory sentences. His further application of this same principle to the distinction between the use of the weak and strong inflection of the adjective in a vocative function (cf. p. 369) seems to me also sound, namely, that the weak inflection simply renders the force of an exclamation, whereas the strong inflection adds to this exclamation "the force of a declaration or predication."

In illustration of this principle Professor Curme cites Mark ix, 25: "bu ahma, bu unrodjands jah baubs, ik bus anabiuda," "τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄλαλον καὶ κωφόν, ἐγώ σοι ἐπιτάσσω," "Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee." The strong form of the participle and adjective here preserves a declarative force, i.e., the thought is, "Dumb and deaf as thou art"; cf. Rom. vii, 24, "wainahs ik manna!" "ταΛαίπωρος ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος," "Wretched man that I am" (cf. Curme, p. 368).

I may add to Professor Curme's illustration a still clearer example of this function of the strong declension, namely, Luke i, 28: "fagino, anstai audahafta, frauja miþ þus; biubido þu in qinom," "χαῖφε, κεχαφιτωμένη, ὁ κύφιος μετὰ σοῦ, εὐλογημένη σὐ ἐν γυναιξίν," "Hail, thou highly favored, the Lord be with thee, thou blessed among women."

We see here what Streitberg calls (Got. Elementarb⁶ §274, II, Anm. 4) "einen merkwürdigen Wechsel von starker und schwacher Flexion im Vokativ," namely, audahafta (strong) and piupido (weak), both used in a vocative function. Evidently the strong adjective audahafta here adds to the exclamation a predicative function, i.e., "O, thou art highly favored," "Highly favored as thou art," whereas the weak adjective piupido has merely the force

of an exclamation, i.e., "O, thou blessed one." If we look at the question from this viewpoint, the shift from the strong to the weak inflection of the adjective in the vocative is not so "merkwürdig" as Streitberg seems to imply.

The same principle applies, I think, to the use of the weak and the strong adjective in exclamations addressed in the third person¹ (as well as in the second person). Take, for instance, the numerous cases where the original Greek has the adjectives εὐλογημένος and εὐλογητός used in exclamations addressed in the third person.

The exclamation "εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος," "Blessed he who comes," Wulfila regularly renders (J. xii, 13; L. xix, 38; Mk. xi, 9, etc.) by piupida sa qimanda," i.e., by the weak form of the adjective; similarly "piupido so qimandei piudangardi," M. xi, 10. The weak form of the adjective expresses an exclamation (the vocative function),² i.e., "Blessed be he who comes," just as in the second person; cf. "piupido þu in qinom," "Blessed (be) thou among women," L. i, 28.

On the other hand, the adjective εὐλογητός in the exclamation ''εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός,'' ''Blessed the Lord,'' is regularly rendered by ''piupips gup'' (Rom. ix, 5; II. Cor. i, 3; Eph. i, 3, etc.), i.e., by the strong form of the adjective. Here we have an exclamation equivalent in force to an assertion, i.e., ''Blessed is the Lord''; the strong form of the adjective adding to the exclamation a predication, just as in the second person, cf. ''fagino, anstai audahafta'' (fem. st.), ''Rejoice, thou [art] highly favored,'' L. i, 28.

Since in the third person no shift between the vocative and the nominative case is possible, only the Gothic has here the means for differentiating a purely exclamatory phrase from one which is also an assertion.

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A NOTE ON LYLY'S EUPHUES

John Lyly, Euphues and His England, ed. R. Warwick Bond (The Complete Works of John Lyly, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1902, II), p. 215, "This is she that resembling the noble

² Cf. O. Behaghel (P. B. Beitr. 43, 155) who surmises that the weak inflection of the Germanic adjective had its origin in the vocative case.



¹ It will be noted that Professor Curme translates the nominative case *piudans* in the exclamation "hails *piudans* Iudaie" by the third person, "Gesegnet sei der König der Juden."

Queene of Navarr, useth the marigolde for hir flower," etc. To the list of illustrations of this passage offered by Mr. Bond and by Messrs. Croll and Clemons (Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit, etc., London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1916, p. 446), should now be added A Newe ballade of the Marigolde, printed by Dr. Hyder E. Rollins in his Old English Ballads (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1920), p. 8. This ballad (i.e., broadside) in fourteen eight line stanzas (riming ababbcbc) was written by William Forrest (and signed by him), a Catholic "preest," who served as one of the chaplains of Queen Mary I of England, to honor her. It was licensed for reprinting, according to Dr. Rollins, 1569-70 and may have been the very poem Lyly had in mind when writing the above passage in Euphues.

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BOOK REVIEWS

On the Origin of the Gerund in English, by George Ch. van Langenhove, Ph.D. xxviii + 132 pp. (=Recueil de Travaux Publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Gand, 56° fascicule). Gand: Van Rysselberghe & Rombaut; Paris: Edouard Champion, 1925.

This monograph, On the Origin of the Gerund in English, by Dr. G. C. van Langenhove, of the University of Gand, bears the subtitle, "Phonology," and is restricted almost entirely to the phonological phase of the problem discussed. Whether this monograph is to be followed by another dealing with other phases of the problem is not indicated; but the excellence of the present study makes the reader long for a sequel thereto.

As an introduction Dr. van Langenhove gives a brief conspectus of previous discussions concerning the origin of the English Gerund by Professors J. L. Armstrong, H. Logeman, Eugen Einenkel, G. O. Curme, and others. While commending the work of these gentlemen, he holds that their studies are inconclusive, largely, he believes, because they approach the problem primarily from the standpoint of syntax, whereas one should begin, as he does, with the phonology of the gerund.

Of the phonological factors in the evolution of the English gerund Dr. van Langenhove gives a remarkably careful and detailed study, devoting a chapter each to the endings of the Verbal Noun, the Present Participle, and the Infinitive, in Old English and in Middle English. He reaches the conclusion (p. 132) that "the Gerund . . . owes its existence to a double confusion: (a) of the inflected and uninflected infinitives, as its form is the inflected one without the preposition to; (b) of this infinitive in -n and the verbal noun in -ing, both words having in the spoken language the same form, often the same meaning, sometimes the same construction." This conclusion differs appreciably from the two leading theories hitherto advanced as to the origin of the English gerund, that by Professor Einenkel, who holds that the English gerund is largely due to Anglo-Norman influence upon English syntax, and that of Professor Curme, who considers the English gerund a native development from the Old English verbal noun in -ung (-ing) without any foreign help what-One may admit that some such confusion of verbal forms took place as that indicated by Dr. van Langenhove without accepting his conclusion that the English gerund "owes its existence" to such confusion of forms. To me the origin of the English gerund seems primarily a problem of syntax rather than of phonology,—a thesis that I hope to develop somewhat at length in a paper to be published in the near future. Meantime I am deeply grateful for Dr. van Langenhove's acute and learned discussion of the phonological aspect of a difficult problem, to the solution of which problem he has made, if not a conclusive, a noteworthy contribution.

As is evident from his prefixed "Bibliography," Dr. van Langenhove has

taken account of most of the more important articles and monographs bearing directly on the origin of the gerund in English and of many articles that have only an indirect bearing thereon. He laments that he did not have access to the Jena dissertation of Dr. R. Blume, Ueber den Ursprung und die Entwickelung des Gerundiums im Englischen (Bremen, 1880). Perhaps it would be well to add to his list the following: - Bradhering, H.: Das Englische Gerundium, Emden Program, 1895; Callaway, M., Jr.: The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon, Baltimore, 1901, and his Studies in the Syntax of the Lindisfarne Gospels, Baltimore, 1918 (in each of which is discussed "the Governing Power of the Present Participle", in Old English and in the kindred Germanic languages); Ellinger, J.: "Gerundium, Infinitiv, und That-satz als Adverbale oder Adnominale Ergänzung," in Anglia, XXXIII (1910), 480-522; Erckmann, L.: Infinitive and Gerund as a Means of Abbreviating Substantive Sentences in the English Language," Rostock Dis., Lüneberg, 1875; Erdmann, A.: The History of the Verbal Forms in -Ing, Part I. Old Anglo-Saxon Period, Uppsala Dis., Stockholm, 1871; Farrar, T. J.: The Gerund in Old English, Washington and Lee Dis., Baltimore, 1902; Few, W. P.: "Verbal Nouns in -Inde in Middle English and the Participial -Ing Suffix," in Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, V (1896), 269-276; Hoefer, A.: "Zu Particip und Gerundium," in Germania, XV (1870), 53-61; Krüger, G.: "Die Partizipiale Gerundialfügung: Ihr Wesen und Ihr Ursprung," in Englische Studien, XXXVII (1906), 375-385; ibidem: "The English Participle Present and Gerund," in Notes and Queries, 11th series, Vol. VI, 1912, p. 65; March, F. A.: A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language, New York, 1873; Onions, C. T.: "The History of the English Gerund," in Englische Studien, XLVIII (1914-1915), 169-171; Poutsma, H.: The Infinitive, the Gerund, and the Participles of the English Verb, Groningen, 1923; Rahts, G.: Bemerkungen über den Gebrauch der Englischen Participien auf -Ing, Rastenburg Progr., 1859; Rusteberg, F. G. A.: Historical Development of the Gerund in the English Language, Leipzig Dis., Göttingen, 1874; Schmidt, W.: Abhandlung über die Englische Verbalform auf -Ing, Königsberg, 1872; Smith, R.: Participle and Infinitive in -Ing (=Bulletin of the University of South Carolina, No. 27), Columbia, 1911; Weber, W. L.: "The English Gerund," in Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America for 1899, pp. lxxv-lxxvi; Wegener, W.: Abhandlung über die Englische Verbalform auf -Ing, Königsberg, 1872; Weyhe, H.: Zu den Altenglischen Verbalabstrakten auf -Nes und -Ing, -Ung, Leipzig, 1910; and Willert, H.: "Vom Gerundium," in Englische Studien, XXXV (1905), 372-382. MORGAN CALLAWAY, JR.

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Comparative Idiom: An Introduction to the Study of Modern Languages, by R. J. Hayes. vii + 108 pp. Hodges, Figgis & Company, Dublin, 1927.

To most students of languages, this author believes, a foreign language is simply "a kind of algebraical substitution of new words and idioms for the words and idioms of their native tongue." The aim of Comparative Idiom is to broaden the narrow linguistic outlook of which this misconception is an expression by bringing together and contrasting linguistic facts from a variety of modern languages. The "method of procedure" is in conformity with the

author's conviction that "if the student is to possess a broad linguistic outlook, he must regard the expression in language of any given idea as a problem which is capable of several different solutions." In each chapter the author first discusses one of "the fundamental ideas of mankind" and then (except in one case) presents the variant modes of expression of the idea in the languages compared (English, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Dutch, Danish, Irish, Russian, and Finnish). The ideas with reference to the expression of which these languages are compared, as they are designated in the book and in the order of treatment, are the following: existence, the definite and the indefinite, the part and the whole, indefinite agent, indefinite personal agent, indirect agency, time, duration (transient duration, continuous duration, completed duration, inceptive duration), futurity, possibility, feeling, the animate and the inanimate, polite address, purpose, and Though in general interesting, the treatment of these ideas is often loose and sometimes superficial. To illustrate: "One of the simplest statements we can make is that an object exists. . . . Our ordinary statements of existence may . . . be considered under two headings, first, existence in a certain place, and secondly, the existence of an object of a certain kind." An example of a statement of existence in a certain place is There is a dog in the garden and one of the existence of an object of a certain kind is There are dogs that bark and dogs that do not. It should be clear, I believe, first, that the examples are not necessarily relevant, and further, that for one thing the two types of predication are not of the same logical kind and for another neither type is of the logical kind indicated. The most remarkable statement in the book, because it is the worst, is no doubt the following: "'I have built a house' denotes a completed duration of about one year." The treatment of idioms, while undoubtedly accurate, is too often simply so much "algebraical substitution"; the reader not familiar with the languages compared, indeed, for whom presumably it is primarily intended, will frequently find it quite unintelligible.

OSCAR E. JOHNSON

The University of Iowa

Lady Miller and the Batheaston Literary Circle, by Ruth Avaline Hesselgrave.
xii + 93 pp. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927.

This little book has a pretty frontispiece but no index. These two facts are representative of the conspicuous merit and the not insignificant defect of Miss Hesselgrave's study of the Batheaston coterie. For she has written an entertaining essay full of lively details concerning Lady Miller, her husband, her bouts-rimés, and the poets and poetasters who frequented her fashionable assemblies between 1772 and 1781, but the essay is distinctly not an exhaustive summarizing of the results of systematic and thorough research. In particular, the author was unnecessarily at a loss for contemporary evidence concerning the activities of the Batheaston circle in the three or four years immediately following the return of the Millers from France in 1772. Bibliographical suggestions from Maier's Christopher Anstey u. der "New Bath Guide" (Munich, 1914) would have led her to consult an illuminating group of satirical squibs that sputtered about Batheaston in 1774 and 1775. Of these pieces the most important is Anstey's The Priest Dissected: A Poem,



addressed to the Rev. Mr. - - - -, Author of Regulus, Toby, Caesar, and other Satirical Pieces in the public Papers (Bath, 1774). Another satire that might have been a helpful source of contemporary opinion is The Sentence of Momus on the Poetical Amusements at a Villa near Bath (1775). One might cite other pertinent titles not mentioned in Miss Hesselgrave's text or notes. But to do so in a review would be to place a false emphasis, for the pleasant harmony of tone in this charming essay is sufficient merit to offset the author's minor shortcomings in the matter of exhaustive investigation of available sources of information.

ROBERT C. WHITFORD

Knox College

Le Lai d'Haveloc and Gaimar's Haveloc Episode, edited by Alexander Bell, M.A. (Deacon's School, Petersborough). Longmans, Green and Co. for Manchester University Press. 1926.

Mr. Bell gives us a new and accurate edition of the Haveloc episode contained in Gaimar's Estoire des Anglais, and of the Lai d'Haveloc. This supplies a need felt by students of Old French, for the early editions are almost inaccessible and the latest edition (Rolls Series) is far from satisfactory. The poems are preceded by a substantial introduction which discusses several points of importance. In this Mr. Bell expounds his thesis which attributes the authorship of the Haveloc episode to Gaimar himself and establishes a new relationship between the Lai and Gaimar's Haveloc.

This episode has seemed to several to be an addition to the text of the Estoire des Anglais; Mr. Bell contends that it was added by Gaimar himself (about 1170) after he had already begun his translation of the A. S. Chronicle. This contention is based upon a very imposing number of arguments, linguistic, metrical, and stylistic.

The Lai is written in a dialect very similar to the French of the continent, and this fact seems to indicate that it was written by an immigrant rather than by a native of England; that he had lived only a short time in the country at the time when he wrote is suggested by the fact that, if his local allusions are rather definite, he knows nothing of the geography outside of Lincolnshire. (The date is given as the early beginning of the 13th century.)

The story of the two is similar,—a little more detailed in the *Lai*, with but few changes: The story of the hero, his royal birth, his youth and how he became a scullion in the kitchens of King Edelsi is related in the beginning of the *Lai* before we are acquainted with Haveloc, and not in Gaimar.

There are a great many passages exactly parallel in expression in the two. This fact led Kupferschmidt to postulate the existence of an early French Haveloc from which both might be derived. But Mr. Bell dismisses this hypothetical source and asserts that the *Lai* is undoubtedly derived from Gaimar's version of the Haveloc story. The changes in details (as, for instance, the greater part played by Argentille) he attributes to the influence of Marie de France. The author has also mixed in a few traditions which he gathered orally in the country where he had recently settled.

As for Gaimar's sources, Mr. Bell contends that they were immediately English. The episode had its source in the English *Havelok*; however, Gaimar is responsible for the Arthurian connections of the story which did not appear

in the English version. But was there no other continental influence? We cannot help thinking in reading both versions of the contemporary of Cuaran or Haveloc, Rainouart of the Aliscamps. Both heroes are of royal birth and both doing menial work in the kitchen of a king who has chosen them for their strength. Such is indeed the characteristic of both. They are handsome and powerful, and we are made to feel that life has more in store for them, something more noble than the work of a scullion. This is a mere impression, but it is felt quite markedly at the reading of the poems.

The introduction offers to the student and the philologue scholarly chapters on the description of the MSS., the language, syntax, phonology, and versification of both works. The notes that follow are not the least interesting part; there is true erudition in them, enjoyable in its presentation.

University of Iowa

A. J. Dickman

Keats and Shakespeare. A Study of Keats' Poetic Life from 1816 to 1820, by John Middleton Murry. Oxford University Press, London. 1925.

The Mind of John Keats, by Clarence Dewitt Thorpe. Oxford University Press. American Branch. New York. 1926.

Of these two studies-for neither is a biography in the ordinary sense of the word, that of Mr. Murry stands first, both chronologically, and in point of intrinsic importance and literary charm. It is penetrating, intensely sympathetic, and phrased not infrequently with eloquence and force. however, and the point of view which it suggests, is the least satisfactory and plausible feature of the book. The comparison with Shakespeare, despite all the effort expended, remains forced and extraneous; to begin with, a mere point of departure; and in the section where it is most prominently developed, of only incidental significance. The maxim on which the study may be said to be grounded is that "Great poets mean what they say" (p. 55), that "the true poet utters his own soul." On this presumption, brushing aside the mask of the dramatist, Murry, like Dowden and others, reads into the life of Shakespeare a story of middle years of disillusionment and despair, strikingly paralleled by the experience of Keats. Eventually both authors arrive at what Keats has himself termed "Negative Capability," a state of mind peculiar to the very greatest poets, in which (p. 48) "they can forgive, not only men, but life itself." To make possible such a dubious comparison it is necessary to disregard the tremendous differences in the type of art exhibited by the two poets; while, in the case of Keats, in order to give some support to this new conception of the last years, Murry finds himself forced specifically to deny that Keats' "mind or powers were denatured by disease, or that the love passion-was morbid, or grotesque, or humiliating." The method of analysis employed to strengthen these unusual contentions deserves nothing but praise. The letters and the poetry are here organized into a synthesis which makes of the poet's poetic biography a psychologically unified Thus viewed, the individual poems fall into their proper places, and seem the outgrowth of recognizable states of mind. The chapter, "Soul-Making," presents an aspect of the life of Keats often overlooked, his view of life as related to God. Murry justifies the chapter by an eloquent defence of Poetry as "one of the few roads that remain open to the eternal reality, that is less directly and less fully expressed in religion." The author is none too friendly to Keats' friend, Charles Brown, and sees the poet striking at him in the rôle of the old philosopher in *Lamia*, since Brown disapproved of Keats' fondness for Fanny Brawne just as Appolonius did of that of his young friend, Lycius. As regards the disputed relation of the two *Hyperions*, Murry is unmoved by Miss Lowell's contention, and insists that the second *Hyperion* was really written second.

In comparison with the work of Murry, that of Thorpe is more conventional in outline, clearer, more disposed to take things at their face value, perhaps for the casual student the more useful. It parallels Murry at many points, even to treating briefly Keats' religious ideas, and is copiously illustrated with well-chosen passages from the letters. Especially strong is Thorpe's analysis of Keats' philosophic ideas, and his interpretation of the great odes, and of Hyperion, in the light of philosophy. Though it lacks the fire of Murry, and his transcendental conception of the significance of great poets in general, and of Keats in particular, Professor Thorpe's book is none the less a sensible and useful one, admirably balancing and complementing its companion volume. University of Iowa

Bartholow V. Crawford

Anatole France, the Degeneration of a Great Artist, by Barry Cerf. The Dial Press, New York, 1926. xi + 297 pp. + appendix.

After the biographical introduction the work consists of two main parts entitled the Thinker and the Artist. Supporting his thesis by copious citations, the author points out in the first part in chapters with such titles as the Sensualist, the Humanist, the Socialist, the failure of Anatole France to take any aspect of life seriously. He let himself be guided by the charms of physical pleasures and by aimless curiosity. France hated effort and therefore became a dilettante, unwilling to undergo the discipline and make the effort of will that mark the true humanist. France shows himself also to be no real socialist because, while scoffing at decency and exalting anarchy, he also proves that the socialistic program will lead us nowhere.

Turning in the second part to the question of style, Professor Cerf insists that it is an error to suppose that the term classic is the best description of France's style. The outstanding qualities of his style, warmth, richness, eleverness, sensuousness, are romantic, not classic. In classic literature content is the aim, style is incidental and inseparable from content. With France content is subordinate to style. France is a great ironist, says Professor Cerf, but the supreme irony lies in the fact that the public has been led to hail as classic a writer whose chief qualities are romantic.

The appendix contains a chronological list of France's works with the titles of English translations, when translations exist, and a brief list of books containing recollections of France or of his conversations.

Such a study is suggestive but not final. The author would probably be the first to admit that the work is subjective and that others may not agree with him.

University of Iowa

CHARLES E. YOUNG



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CONTENTS

CHARLES BUNDY WILSON, Germanic Languages and Literatures ROY C. FLICKINGER, Classical Languages and Literatures BALDWIN MAXWELL, English and Comparative Literature RALPH EMERSON HOUSE, Romance Languages and Literatures

CONTENTS	
Longinus on the Sublime. Some Historical and	
Literary Problems W. Rhys Roberts	209
The Influence of Tricging on the	
Faerie Queene C. W. Lemmi	220
Notes on the Puppet Play of Doctor Faust - John A. Walz	224
Southey's Eclogues E. C. Knowlton	231
Foreign Languages in the	
Romans d'Aventure Milton H. Stansbury	242
Reconstruction of a Lost Play Henry David Gray	254
Selbsterlebtes in Eichendorffs Aus Dem	
Leben Eines Taugenichts E. P. Appelt	275
Verse-Sentence Patterns in	
English Poetry Charles A. Langworthy	283
Contemporary Politics in Elizabethan Drama:	
Fulke Greville E. P. Kuhl	299
Brief Articles and Notes	
The Sources of B. Pérez Galdós, Doña Perfecta,	
Cap. VI Alexander Haggerty Krappe	303
A Jonson Allusion, and Others Bernard M. Wagner	306
Note on Balzac's Maître Cornélius G. D. Morris	308
Lyttelton Franklin P. Johnson	310
A Possible Source of Browning's Saul - George S. Wykoff	311
Query on Chaucer's Burgesses Carroll Camden, Jr.	314
Book Reviews	318
HAZELTON SPENCER, Shakespeare Improved (Bartholow V. Craw-	
ford). John Bulkeley and John Cummins, A Voyage to the	
South Seas in His Majesty's Ship the Wager in the Years 1740-1741 (Willard H. Bonner).	
1741 (Willard II. Dollier).	

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LONGINUS ON THE SUBLIME. SOME HISTORICAL AND LITERARY PROBLEMS¹

By W. Rhys Roberts, Litt. D.

Emeritus Professor of Classics in the University of Leeds; formerly
Fellow of King's College, Cambridge

As long ago as the year 1899 the Cambridge University Press published for me an edition of "Longinus." At the moment I am correcting the proof-sheets of a small volume on Greek Rhetoric and Literary Criticism for an American Series. It would be a great help if you would allow me to confer with you on some of the many problems presented by the *De Sublimitate*. You will not disappoint me by failing (as too often happens) to join, young and old, in the discussion at the close. I still remember gratefully a valuable piece of information² I had, on a postcard in September 1901, from a boy, Donald S. Robertson, who was then (I believe) at Westminster School, where the *Sublime* was being read as a holiday task or treat. That postcard is here to-day as one of two exhibits, the other being the sumptuous Bodoni edition of "Longinus."

More than ever, I am convinced that the essay—this seems the nearest English equivalent for ὑπόμνημα—belongs not to the third century of our era but to the first. Its Roman, Greek, and Jewish affinities appear to point that way. Suppose that the last chapter (chapter 44) alone was before us, as a newly discovered fragment, in modern print (with no palaeographical indication of date). Could we take that famous lament for perished liberty, eloquence, and genius to have been written so late as the third century? In the first century the topic of such degeneracy, and its causes, was a commonplace among Roman authors: we think of Tacitus (Dialo-

¹ A paper read to the Classical Association at its Annual General Meeting held in London, January 9th-11th, 1928.

 $^{^2}$ As to the mention of the $\pi\epsilon\varrho$ i τωρος in Conrad Gesner's Bibliotheca Universalis, published in 1545, nine years before Robortello's editio princeps.

gus de Oratoribus), the two Plinys, Quintilian (Institutio Oratoria and the lost De Causis Corruptae Eloquentiae), Petronius, and Seneca the philosopher. We notice that, in this chapter, "Longinus" (it is convenient so to call him; and I shall do so throughout) speaks of "the world's peace" (ἡ τῆς οἰκουμένης εἰρήνη), and we recall the "Pax Romana," and a sentence close to the beginning of Tacitus' Histories: "postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere." What, by the way, is the nearest equivalent in any Roman author for ἡ τῆς οἰκουμένης εἰρήνη, a greater phrase (and a greater idea) than "Pax Romana"?

The striking comparison, in the essay, between Demosthenes and Cicero unites with certain Latinisms to make it likely that the author, notwithstanding his modest disclaimer in chapter 12, had some direct knowledge of the Latin language and literature. Consequently the "philosopher" who starts the discussion in chapter 44 may conceivably be a Roman, and of the first century. Apropos of my edition, the late Professor Robinson Ellis in the Classical Review (xiii. 294) pointed out a double parallelism between the Subline chapter 13, sections 3 and 4, and the Astronomica (book ii, lines 8-10 and 57, 58) of Manilius, who was probably writing between A.D. 9 and A.D. 14. Professor Ellis assumed that here either Manilius must be copying the Sublime or the Sublime Mani-The latter alternative seems possible, but my own feeling, rather, is that both were drawing from some common source (Greek or Latin) now lost: the modern student is always in danger of forgetting the great losses there have surely been of Greek critical works belonging to the century before and the century after Christ. Still, I now incline, in this difficult problem of dating, to think (for reasons to be given in a moment) that the essay does belong to the earlier, rather than the later, half of the first century, and to somewhere about the year 40 A.D. But I want your help and criticism throughout.

Of the Greek affinities of the essay little need at this point be said: after all, it is written in Greek and shows a remarkable familiarity with the whole course of Greek literature. But, as bearing on its date, it is important to observe that, at its very start, a Greek author of the Augustan period is named and attacked: Caecilius of Calacte. The pugnacity, and pertinacity, with which "Longinus" assails Caecilius's book on ΰψος ("sublimity") makes it seem

probable that he was writing not much more than a generation after its appearance—not so long after as the time of Plutarch, who makes but passing references to Caecilius, and certainly not so long after as the third century.

To pass from the Roman and Greek to the Jewish side,—to the surpassingly sublime illustration drawn from the beginning of the Book of Genesis. The passage, in chapter 9, is: "Similarly, the legislator of the Jews, no ordinary man, having formed and expressed a worthy conception of the power of the Godhead, writes at the very beginning of his Laws, 'God said'—what? 'Let there be light, and there was light; let there be earth, and there was earth.'"

First of all, is this passage of "Longinus" genuine? In my edition I maintained that it is and gave my reasons. During the year 1915 the German scholar Konrat Ziegler, in an able and vigorous paper published in Hermes, attacked my views, singling me out no doubt because I had made the fullest recent statement of a case which has never lacked defenders. I did not see the article at the time: I was busy in other ways, patrial tempore iniquo. But a pleasant thing happened. The reply—to me a convincing one came from Germany itself two years later,-in 1917 and in the same classical journal. Hermann Mutschmann,3 a no less able and vigorous scholar than Ziegler and one better known for special work on "Longinus." dealt with the attack in a long article which still holds the field. To review fully the arguments on the two sides I have no space in half-an-hour's paper. I will select a small but interesting point of language passed over by Mutschmann, and then give my own present views on this issue of authenticity and on the general question of date.

Professor Ziegler will have it, indeed, that ἐξέφηνεν, which I have translated by "expressed," here means "revealed" in that very special sense of "revealed" which you would expect from a Jewish or Christian interpolator. But surely Jew or Christian would have employed the (for him) most significant word ἀποκαλύπτω, "to draw the veil from sacred mysteries"; Ziegler himself uses the German word "offenbaren" to render ἐκφαίνειν, but this only serves to remind us that "Offenbarung" is the accepted German title of the New Testament book



³ The writer of the paper has since heard that in July, 1918, Professor Hermann Mutschmann fell, fighting pro patria.

which we often call (as in the Greek) "the Apocalypse." 'Αποκαλύπτω occurs twenty-six times in the New Testament, ἐκφαίνω In the Septuagint ἐμφαίνω is found thirteen times, ἀποκαλύπτω over a hundred times. So that an argument on which Ziegler lays much stress seems rather to turn against himself. Further, the general diction of the section (short as it is) can be shown to tally with the rest of the essay: Expains itself occurs in the first chapter, in the passive voice and in the somewhat colourless sense "appear from," "emerge from"; and the section contains also the characteristic expressions ταύτη ("similarly"), οὐ τυχών ("extraordinary''), εὐθὺς ἐν τῆ εἰσθολῆ ("at the very beginning"), and the still more characteristic rhetorical question,—"God said -what?",-which tells, assuredly, not of a devout Jewish or Christian believer but of an enthusiastic literary guide and teacher who is resolved to arrest attention even though some solemnity may be lost. The inexactitude of the citation, and a certain rhythmical and symmetrical turn which the great fiat has (perhaps unconsciously) received, leave the same impression on the mind, and also suggest a quotation made from memory.

It is with the relation of the whole passage to the difficult question of date that we are now specially concerned. My own view of the date (on which I want your criticism) is briefly this. Thirty years ago I maintained, on internal evidence (the external being, in my opinion, no better than Byzantine guesswork, since it describes the author either as "Dionysius (not Cassius) Longinus," or "Dionysius or Longinus," or "An Anonymous Writer", -I maintained that the essay belongs to the first century, not to the third. Now I would go further and suggest that it was written in the earlier half, rather than the later half, of the first century, and probably during the twenty years from 30 A.D. to 50 A.D.,—say 40 A.D. I would bring it nearer in time to Philo than to Plutarch. I have no positive proof to offer; I shall only urge that, alike on the Jewish, Greek, and Roman sides, the period 30-50 A.D. seems highly probable. Let us seize on any known dates we can and make the most of them, especially if they are near the birth of Christ, slightly before or slightly after. The author is replying (as I think, within a generation or so) to Caecilius. Caecilius was a contemporary of Dionysius of Halicarnassus whom we know to have been living at Rome in the year 8 B.C. (the year of Horace's death) and who was probably still living there at and beyond the

birth of Christ. With Dionysius. "Longinus" has in common an extensive critical terminology; with Caecilius, whom he opposes vehemently, he at any rate shares an interest in the Jewish race we have it on the authority of Suidas that Caecilius was in religion a Jew. "Longinus" is connected with the East in yet another way. In chapter 3 we read: "A third, and closely allied, defect in outbursts of passion is that which Theodorus used to call parenthyrsos. By this is meant unseasonable and empty passion, where no passion is required; or immoderate, where moderation is needed." Modern scholars assume (in my opinion, rightly) that this Theodorus is the eminent rhetorician Theodorus of Gadara who taught in Rhodes and Rome. In my edition I suggested that the imperfect ἐκάλει ("used to call") implies that "Longinus" had been a pupil of Theodorus. This view is also taken by Ziegler and Mutschmann. It is important as providing another clue by which we may hope approximately to date the essay. Quintilian (iii. 1, 17) tells us that Tiberius Caesar, during his retirement in Rhodes, was a diligent hearer of Theodorus. This retirement of Tiberius lasted from B.C. 6 to A.D. 2. It seems to me also possible that Theodorus was not only a Syrian but a Jew (a Jew passing under a Gentile name, like many another Jew in ancient and modern times), and that "Longinus" had heard from him not only about the "dragging-in of the thyrsus" (a verbal coinage suggested no doubt to Theodorus by Euripides' Bacchae, so famous in the East and so well known to "Longinus," as his essay proves), but about the legislator of the Jews and his great written opening now reproduced from memory. It is true that Theodorus liked to be called a "Rhodian" rather than a "Gadarene"; but the man who dubbed the young Tiberius "a lump of clay kneaded with blood" had, surely, courage and independence enough to quote Genesis in his lectures if he knew it: and at Gadara, where Jewish as well as Greek influences had long been felt, he would be likely to know it, even if he were no more than a Syrian cousin of the Jews.

However, I do not in the least insist on this detail nor on the possibility that "Longinus" may owe his knowledge of the quotation not to Theodorus but to the book he criticizes,—that by the Judaizer Caecilius. Word about the greatest opening perhaps in all literature may have come from sources altogether unknown to



⁴ Roberts' edition of *Longinus on the Sublime*, p. 9, where the suggestion was more tentative, in 1899, than it would be in 1928.

us. Is it not the case that the Jews are surprisingly to the fore even in the scanty Greek literature which to-day survives from the age of Augustus or slightly later? Please recall the dates of Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Philo: these rather than Josephus, whose floruit comes somewhat later. Diodorus probably wrote his History soon after 8 B.C., and in it he speaks of Moses' claim that his Laws came to him from the God called "Jehovah." Strabo's life extended from (about) B.C. 54 to A.D. 24. In the 16th Book of his Geography, Strabo expresses, in set terms and at some length, his admiration for the work accomplished by Moses, and says of the theocracy which Moses had instituted that it was "no ordinary one," the same two Greek words which "Longinus" has applied to Moses himself.

Take, again, Philo and his date. Philo (who would be born about 20 B.C.) came from Alexandria to Rome, on his celebrated embassy to Caligula, in or near the year 40 A.D.: a date only slightly earlier than the newly-discovered Letter sent by Claudius to Alexandria. That Letter, and Philo's embassy, are enough to show that Alexandria, and the Jews of Alexandria, were much in the mind of Rome (and "Longinus" is writing to a Roman) about this time; and not simply Alexandrian Jews, nor simply turbulent Jews. of the widely-dispersed Jews were beginning to hold important posts in the Roman imperial system as financiers, administrators, soldiers, secretaries, and teachers, showing no doubt the same intellectual gifts that they have so often shown in modern times and places; and as to the width of the dispersion, Josephus (Ant. Iud. xiv. 7, 2) reports Strabo to have said that "it is not easy to find a spot in the inhabited world which has not admitted this race and is not controlled by it." (Think of it: in New York to-day there are 1,750,000 Jews,—nearly one-third of the total population!)

Aloof as the Jews in some ways were and are, is it likely (apart altogether from what the word "proselyte" teaches us as to the active Jewish propaganda in the century before, and the earlier part of the century after, Christ's birth),—is it in itself likely that, when spread across the world, the Jews should not, as occasion offered, dwell on the great things of their faith to congenial souls, and that a Greek writer like "Longinus" (I take him, subject to your criticism, to have been a Greek, and not simply a Roman or Jew writing in Greek, like Marcus Aurelius, or Philo Judaeus) should record, incidentally, what he had somehow heard? For want

of time, I must pass over the verbal coincidences between Philo and "Longinus," which seem to point to a growing contact in word and thought between Greek and Jewish authors; one of them so striking that it might almost have been written by "Longinus's" "philosopher" in chapter 44. But notice this. Philo, in his puritan sermons on Old Testament texts, occasionally quotes Homer: why should not a contemporary Greek author, once only in a short essay, refer to Genesis if the quotation were apposite? And it is apposite, supremely apposite. In the context, "Longinus" has condemned the human frailties of Homer's Olympian gods, and then turns with relief to a Homeric passage in which the divine nature is (he says) represented "as it really is—pure and great and undefiled." It is at this point that he mentions (with true literary and religious instinct) Moses' high conception of "the Godhead," using the same expression (τὸ θεῖον) as Strabo uses in his 16th book. idea and its simple setting have, alike, impressed him. The whole chapter deals with greatness of mind and soul, and near its beginning he has observed that a "bare idea" can be more sublime than words, instancing the silence of Ajax among the Shades.

Ziegler (whose doubts and difficulties I have kept in mind while stating my own position) seems to me to take altogether too narrow a view of this Greek "classical man" of (let us say) 40 A.D., when he supposes that he would have shrunk from quoting Moses side by side with Homer. That "Longinus" was a "classical man," we know; no one could have offered better tests of truly "classical" excellence than he has done in his seventh chapter. But the special virtue of these tests is that they are as applicable to one great literature as to another. We must not conceive of "Longinus" as a Greek rhetorician in any narrow and invidious sense; he refers to Isocrates, the idol of the rhetoricians, with some disdain. a philosopher and a man of letters; he is a great literary critic (do we, by the way, find in any Greek writer a nearer equivalent for the words "literary criticism" than in the sixth chapter of our essay, where we are told that "literary criticism [ἡ τῶν λόγων κρίσις] is the last and crowning fruit of long experience"?); and (more than all this) he is a man of his own day who has also the good fortune to be endowed with a true historical sense. In thinking of him, we simply must not speak as if Alexander and Alexandria, and Stoicism (half religion, half philosophy, with Greek, Roman, and Semitic elements; Zeno was a Semite), and the later

Platonism had never been. We must not forget, either, that the Greek Septuagint version of the Old Testament had existed, in its earlier part at least, for two or three centuries, and that the interactions between it and Alexandrian Greek literature may have been more far-reaching than we know; did not so sober a scholar as the late Dr. Leaf⁵ go so far as to suggest that, through some channel or other, Callimachus knew Isaiah's paean over the fall of Babylon, "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!"?

And if we turn to Rome, why should not the Roman Terentianus (the addressee of the book; I wish you could identify him from some inscription new or old) have hailed, in a Greek essay, the great words of Moses with even more surprise and admiration than he would greet the comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero, a comparison which Ziegler describes, in error, as a "favourite theme." It was not so among the Greek literary critics; "Longinus," in this as in other ways, is exceptional. On the evidence of the essay itself, Terentianus would seem to have been an apt and high-minded pupil (past or present) of the author's, at whose somewhat mannered style he may sometimes have smiled, remembering that "Longinus" had (he mentions it in his book) written more than once on the subject of word-arrangement and was much given to that verbal heightening and recasting which belongs to his conception of "ψος, but not forgetting either that he loved, and could make his pupils love, the greater aspects of literature,—the noble thought, character, and feeling enshrined in it. When this literary letter (this classical essay in criticism) was written to him, Terentianus was clearly a man of some standing; the adjective πράτιστος by which he is once addressed suggests that he was of official rank. In the Acts of the Apostles we remember that the two Roman procurators Felix and Festus are addressed as πράτιστε Φῆλιξ and μράτιστε Φῆστε,—"your Excellency" almost. When, from (about 61 A.D. to 63 A.D., St. Paul "dwelt two whole years" in a hired lodging of his own at Rome, those that "came in unto him" would come mainly from the poorer quarters of the city. But, in the course of the first century, there faces us also what has recently been called "that most obscure problem regarding the penetration of Christianity during the first century among the aristocracy of

⁵ Walter Leaf, Little Poems from the Greek, pp. 92-94.

Rome'': and I would ask whether that penetration had not been made less difficult because, here and there, men like Terentianus had previously been led to welcome truth even when presented in the Old Testament of the Jews? Be this as it may: if, looking alike to the period and to the man as he is seen in his book, we decide to place "Longinus" about 40 A.D., that will bring him into the earliest years of St. Paul's great career as a convert to Christianity. St. Paul's native town of Tarsus had been a seat of Stoic teaching at least as early as 130 B.C.; and I have lately (in the Loeb Series) offered some reasons for thinking that Plutarch's Demetrius of Tarsus may have written the extant tract on Style, and that, not more than twenty years after St. Paul's death at Rome, this Demetrius was (as a member of Agricola's personal staff) teaching Greek at York, the years about 80 A.D. being thus the birth-years of Classical Education in Great Britain: to be followed later by the great things we owe, through the influence of Christianity and of men like Dean Colet, to such foundations as St. Paul's Schools for Boys and Girls.⁷ All this is, of course, highly problematical; but, for "Longinus," can anyone think of a more likely period than round about 40 A.D.? And can anyone, further, throw fresh light on the date from such details as (1) the vavoi in chapter 44; (2) the ήμαρτημένος Κολοσσός in chapter 36; (3) or the reference to Mt. Etna in chapter 35? As to the last point: it is sometimes thought that, if "Longinus" had been writing later than the great eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D., he would have mentioned that volcano rather than Etna. But did not Etna remain (even in its more tranquil days) the typical volcano, in the Christian era as well as in the earlier centuries, and in Latin literature as well as Still, if the essay should be discovered among the charred remains at Herculaneum, we shall have no manner of doubt that its date is not later than 79 A.D.

By way of conclusion, I will propose (without developing) two problems suggested by the main theme of the essay itself. "Longinus" loses no time in defining "the Sublime" as "a certain distinction and excellence of style"; and in chapter nine he describes it, in two resounding words, as μεγαλοφοσύνης ἀπήχημα, "the reverberation of magnanimity," "the far-heard echo of a great soul." Throughout he connects it with greatness, ringing the changes on

⁷ The Classical Association met, this year, in St. Paul's School for Girls.



⁶ Cf. W. M. Ramsay, Journal of Roman Studies XVI (1926), 210.

μέγας, μέγεθος, μεγεθοποιεῖν, μεγεθύνειν, μεγαληγορία, μεγαλοθυΐα, μεγαλοψυχία; greatness and beauty (rather than littleness and baseness) he seeks for everywhere, alike in the world of nature and of man. The style itself we might well describe as "the great style"; avoiding "grand," with its suggestion of "grandiose." But the question I wish to ask is: how much farther back than Caecilius and "Longinus" can anyone trace, in Greek or Latin, the history of the terms ὕψος and ὑψηλός? A difficult question, when so much Greek critical literature has been lost between Aristotle and Dionysius, and when "sublimis" and "sublimitas" do not come into Cicero's prose vocabulary. And, leaping from Cicero right onward to Chaucer, can you tell me whether the "heigh style," in the Prologe of the Clerkes Tale of Oxenford harks back in some way to ὑψηλός, and how? Here I think I see a clue.

My final problem may seem a bathos, but it stands in close relation to ὕψος, and it possesses much literary and lexicographical interest, in Greek and English. What is the meaning of η βάθους at the beginning of the second chapter, where we read, "First of all, we must raise the question whether there is ύψους τις η βάθους τέχνη? Is βάθος the opposite of ὕψος, or is it an alternative expression ((profundity")? The revised Liddell and Scott renders here by the English word "bathos"; but it quotes no Greek parallel, from the essay or elsewhere. Do you know of any? I know of none, and I believe that Mr. George Loane (now, or formerly, a Master at St. Paul's School, and also a member, I see, of this Association) may be right when, in his excellent Handbook of Literary Terms, he writes, "Bathos.—This is a sudden descent from the sublime, in description . . . The term was first used by Pope, as the antithesis of the Greek hypsos, height, sublimity; bathos means depth, but was never used by the Greeks in this literary sense." The reference here is of course to the satire attributed to the joint efforts of Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot, Martinus Scriblerus περί βάθους: Or, of the Art of Sinking in Poetry, a title suggested by the De Sublimitate. The literary insight of Pope (whose six lines on "Longinus," in the Essay on Criticism, are still the best appreciation of him that has ever been penned), and the fact that the "sinkings" of style are much in "Longinus's"

s Here Poseidonius might help us greatly, but there are risks in what we may call παρεμποσειδώνιος, "the dragging-in of Poseidonius."

⁹ Or hupsos, as Dean Swift transliterates it.

mind and mouth, keep me from speaking quite as positively as Mr. Loane. But I should much like to be fortified by a Greek parallel. Anticlimax we must, I fear, give up as an ancient Greek word: must we also surrender to Alexander Pope $\beta \acute{\alpha} \vartheta o \varsigma$ in the sense of ''bathos''?

In the discussion, ¹⁰ I shall hope to have the benefit of my fellow-members' opinions on the various points of language I have raised, and on the broader questions of the date of the essay and of the genuineness of its citation from *Genesis*. In my present view of his date, "Longinus" (the earliest of comparative, or international, Greek critics) belongs to a period of marked fusion in the world's intellectual and spiritual history, and has in him something that is characteristic of each of three great races: the Greek, the Roman, the Jewish. This it is that makes and will always make him (unidentified though he may remain) a unique and outstanding figure in the domain of literature.

¹⁰ Part was taken in the discussion by Dr. J. W. Mackail (Chairman), Canon G. C. Richards, Professor J. Wight Duff, Professor R. S. Conway (President of the Association), Mr. A. O. Prickard, and Professor Wilhelm Kroll of Breslau. The last-named supported Professor Roberts's views, as against those of Professor Ziegler.

THE INFLUENCE OF TRISSINO ON THE FAERIE QUEENE

By C. W. LEMMI The Johns Hopkins University

Gian Giorgio Trissino left his mark on English literature both as a dramatist and as a critic. It would be strange if he had failed to do so as a poet. L'Italia Liberata dai Gotti, his monumental epic on the reconquest of Italy by Belisarius, was regarded by him as his masterpiece. When, in the years 1547 and 1548, it finally appeared (and was presented with pomp and circumstance to Charles V), Trissino had been working on it (and doubtless announcing progress) for twenty years; and the noble courtier and poet was a national figure, and his home a place of pilgrimage. It would be strange indeed if news of the magnum opus had not reached England. In fact it may now be postulated that Trissino did influence English literature as a poet; so striking are the resemblances between much in the fourth and fifth books of his epic and considerable portions of the first and second books of the Faerie Queene.

It will be remembered that in the first book of Spenser's poem, pride, chief of the deadly sins, is rightly sympolized as the most potent force against which moral rectitude has to contend. The Redcross Knight, beguiled by Duessa, is led to the House of Pride and is finally cast into a dungeon by Giant Pride himself. In one of the most magnificent episodes which Spenser ever penned, Prince Arthur destroys the giant, and having taken the castle keys from the doddering porter, searches for the prisoner till at last he finds him and leads him forth gaunt and trembling into the light. Duessa, stripped of her gorgeous raiment and exposed in her foul monstrosity, flees away, a diabolical apparition of falsehood laid bare.

In the second book we again catch sight of Duessa, slinking among the trees. But the knight Guyon, deceived for a moment, shakes her off. He has no time for this jackal; his prey is the lean and terrible lioness called lust,—the enchantress Acrasia. Suddenly he comes upon her kill; on the green grass by a fountain, the knight stricken dead by the murderous cup he drank from, his crazed wife

¹ F. Flamini, Il Cinquecento, 132.133,160.

groaning in a pool of blood. Guyon and his wise companion, the Palmer, hasten on. They rest a space in that strange castle, with its thirty-two porters at the door, where Alma, the soul, rules with virtuous moderation; then on again. Finally they reach the lioness's lair: Acrasia's garden. The dainty, ineffectual wall, the gate "framed in precious ivory," offer no resistance; the porters are brushed aside; the fountain and its bathing temptresses are left behind. A few steps more, and the avengers behold Acrasia, surrounded by ambiguous boys and shameless women, toying in feline, dangerous languor with her last victim. In a moment they are upon her. Not for the false enchantress the chivalrous treatment accorded to the captives of knightly romance: heavily chained, she is led away to be delivered to that glorious queen at whose behest Guyon set forth to capture her; and her garden is utterly destroyed.

For most of the incidents touched upon above we shall look in vain whether in Boiardo, Ariosto, or Tasso; we find practically all in Trissino, and in such specific detail as to convince us that here is no matter of chance.

Let me begin with the parallels to F. Q. II, which are the more remarkable. A party of Belisarius's knights are sent to the rescue² of certain of their comrades imprisoned in the beautiful garden³ of the enchantress Acratia⁴ (spelled Acrazia in the synoptical index). On the way, they are exposed to the wiles⁵ of a second enchantress,⁶ Ligridonia. Next they come to a healing fountain, sprung in part from the tears of a woman, on the grassy plot where another woman died a violent death by order of Acratia.⁷ Finally, guided by a wise old man⁸ who is more than he seems to be,⁹ they reach Acratia's garden, surrounded by a marble and alabaster wall with an ivory door,¹⁰ and containing a palace where, attended by trusty porters,¹¹ deft boys,¹² and pretty damsels, the inmates spend

² Trissino, L'Italia Liberata dai Gotti, IV. 611 et. seq.

³ IV. 445 et seq. Cf. IV. 958 et seq.

⁴ IV. 656 et seq. Cf. V. 347.

⁵ IV. 765 et seq.

⁶ Cf. V. 347.

⁷ IV. 873 et seq. Cf. IV. 672 et seq.

⁸ V. 54. Cf. II 242.

⁹ Cf. IV. 656.

¹⁰ V. 165 et seq.

¹¹ V. 208.

¹² V. 202.

their time in feasting and licentiousness.¹³ The knights seize Acratia and Ligridonia,¹⁴ free their comrades,¹⁵ destroy the power of the corrupting fountain situated in the garden,¹⁶ and deliver the enchantress, firmly bound,¹⁷ to a queen¹⁸ whose enemy she is.¹⁹ This same queen is an embodiment of virtue (as her name, Areta, signifies), and lives with Clemency, Chastity, Honor, Magnanimity, and others,²⁰ in a castle highly suggestive of ethical symbolism²¹ where the harmonious arrangement of the halls²² moves the knights to wonder, and the porches of twenty-two and thirty-two columns²³ inclose a rectangular court thus not far in its proportions²⁴ from that in F. Q. II. 9. 22.

Let us now consider the parallels to F. Q. I. We have seen that Ligridonia resembles in her wiles the Duessa of F. Q. II. 1, 15-21. But in that same episode she recalls even more the Duessa of I. 7; for with a trumped-up story of suffered injustice she lures a knight excessive in his pride²⁵ to a castle²⁶ where he is made a prisoner. Before that castle there presently takes place a combat in which a knight bearing heavenly arms²⁷ participates in the defeat of a haughty opponent²⁸ backed by two giants.²⁹ As they enter the castle, the victors meet the old portress, who does not know that there are prisoners within, and take her keys from her.³⁰ But let us return to Ligridonia. She is finally captured, as we have seen; and were the instructions³¹ of the seeming old man carried out,

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<sup>13</sup> V. 202 et seq.
14 V. 345 et seq.
<sup>15</sup> V. 388 et seq.
<sup>16</sup> V. 520 et seq, Cf. V. 152.
17 V. 487.
18 V. 686; V. 822; V. 925.
19 IV. 672 et seq.
<sup>20</sup> V. 836 et seq.
<sup>21</sup> V. 713 et seq.
<sup>22</sup> V. 848-851.
23 V. 843.
<sup>24</sup> For a possible explanation of these, see Vitruvius, V. 1. 2.
25 IV. 739; V. 477.
<sup>26</sup> IV. 765 et seq.
27 IV. 873.
28 Ibi; Cf. IV. 450 et seq.
29 IV. 837; Cf. IV. 629 et seq.
30 IV. 997 et seq.
31 V. 283.
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she would be stripped and forced to display her foul and bestial monstrosity. As it is, Acratia alone is subjected to this disgrace.³²

One can readily understand how Trissino's poem would have appealed to Spenser. The episode which forms the subject of the books discussed is a consistent moral allegory throughout. The names Acratia, Areta, etc., have only to be compared with their Greek etymons to be made clearly intelligible; the proud knight rides for a fall; his virtuous comrades achieve, by a steep path, the eastle of virtue; and so forth. Nor can the poetic merits of the work have failed to catch the Englishman's eye if, as I believe, they fell under it. Greatly inferior to Ariosto's and Tasso's masterpieces, Trissino's poem is, nevertheless, fluent and often vivid. Take, for example, the following simile descriptive of an encounter between two Knights:³³

Come quando s'incontra in mez'al mare Garbino e Greco; 34 onde con gran rimbombo, Si muove l'acqua, e s'urta onda con onda, Mandando verso 'l ciel la schiuma bianca, Cosi fer quei Baroni.

Compare this simile with that in F. Q. IV. 1. 42.

As when two billowes in the Irish sowndes, Forcibly driven with contrarie tydes, Do meete together, each abacke rebowndes, With roaring rage; and dashing on all sides, That filleth all the sea with foam, divydes The doubtful current into divers ways: So fell those two in spight of both their prydes.

It was not personal experience alone that dictated this stanza.

³² V. 388.

³³ IV. 540 et seq.

³⁴ Greco is the east and Garbino the southwest wind.

NOTES ON THE PUPPET PLAY OF DOCTOR FAUST

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I. THE LATIN EXCLAMATIONS AT THE END OF THE PLAY

In the last act of the puppet play of Dr. Faust we have in most of the versions a voice calling out at the striking of the bell: "Fauste! Accusatus es," later "Fauste! Judicatus es!" and as the clock strikes twelve, "Fauste! In aeternum damnatus es!" These Latin exclamations are very impressive in the connection in which they are heard; they add to the terror and weirdness of the final scene. In some of the puppet plays they are preceded by another exclamation in Latin: "Fauste! Praepare te!" The author of the Volksschauspiel, upon which the puppet play is based, shows in the use of this device that fine sense of the dramatic which he reveals in so many other scenes of the play. The Latin exclamations do not occur in Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, though the striking of the bell is derived from Marlowe's play.

The Latin words are found in the oldest account we have of a performance of the *Volksschauspiel*, that of the Danzig councilor Georg Schröder, who witnessed a performance at Danzig in the year 1669.¹ The words appeared in fiery letters in the last scene representing Faust being tortured in hell: "Accusatus est, judicatus est, condemnatus est."

Creizenach in his Versuch einer Geschichte des Volksschauspiels vom Doctor Faust (Halle, 1878, p. 13) suggests as a possible source of these exclamations a rare book of the 17th century, Philander Infernalis Vivo Redivivus Apparens, Frankfurt, 1648, a continuation of Moscherosch's Gesichte Philanders von Sittenwald. In this book Expertus Rupertus relates that one night he suddenly heard the words: "O profunditas judicii Dei." He was greatly frightened, but after a while believed it was merely a "Phantasma." In the following night he heard the words: "judicio Dei sistatus sum," shortly afterwards "ante judicium Dei accusatus sum," and finally towards morning "justo Dei justicio judicatus sum."

¹ Cf. Bolte, Das Danziger Theater im 16. und 17 Jahrhundert. Hamburg und Leipzig, 1895, p. 108.

The Latin exclamations in *Philander Infernalis* are not identical with those in the puppet play, though they show a certain similarity. They are not the source of the exclamations in the puppet play, but go back to a common origin. We have here the influence of an old and often told mediæval legend from which the author of the *Volksschauspiel* or a revisor borrowed. The legend is first found in brief form in the *Dialogus Miraculorum* of Caesar von Heisterbach written about the year 1220. In the 11th book entitled *De Morientibus*, chapter 49, we have a story "De clerico mortuo qui rediens se iudicatum et in manus impiorum traditum exclamavit." The text is as follows:

Fuit in regno Francorum clericus quidam nobilis et dives, quae duo saepe hominem extollunt, multisque vitiis subiiciunt. Qui cum mortuus fuisset, et in feretro positus, multitudine populi circumsedente, tam ex clericis quam ex laicis, ipse se erexit, cunctis audientibus in haec verba prorumpens: Justus iudex iudicavit, iudicatum condemnavit, condemnatum tradidit in manus impiorum. Quibus dictis se reclinans, iterum non dico obdormivit, sed de requie transivit ad laborem, de deliciis ad miseriam.

This miraculous incident became connected with the legend that developed around the life and person of the founder of the Order of the Carthusians, St. Bruno of Cologne, who died in 1101. The oldest historical accounts of St. Bruno do not mention it.³ It appears for the first time in the so-called *Vita antiquior St. Brunonis* written by a member of the Carthusian order in the second part of the 13th century before 1289, about 150 years after Bruno's death.⁴

The documents connected with St. Bruno have been collected and edited by the Bollandist Cornelius de Bye in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Tom. III, October 6. (Antwerp 1770). They were reprinted by Migne in his *Patrologia*. I quote from the *Vita antiquior* as given by Migne, Tom. 152, Col. 483:

Quidam enim doctor praecipuus, et vita, ut videbatur, fama atque doctrina et scientia inter omnes doctores Parisienses excellenter honoratus, et mirabiliter gratiosus, gravi et ultima infirmitate praeventus, non diu decumbens diem clausit extremum. 2. Cumque tota die, qua defunctus est, more Parisiensi in aula, funere in feretro decumbente, fuissent continue decantata divina officia, in crastino mane, congregata ibidem universitate Parisiensi tam scholarium quam doctorum, ut tam honorabili viro solemnem et honorabilem praeberent funeralis officii sepulturam, cum reverendi viri feretrum, in quo funus

² Cf. Caesarius Heisterbacensis Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum. ed. Jos. Strange, Coloniae, Bonnae et Bruxellis. 1851. v. II. Distinctio Undecima. Cap. XLIX.

 $^{^3}$ Cf. H. Löbbel, Der Stifter des Carthäuser-Ordens. Der heilige Bruno aus Köln. Münster i. W. 1899, pp. 6, 12, 14.

⁴ Cf. Löbbel, l. c., p. 25.

jacebat, vellent elevare ad ecclesiam deferendum, subito, cunctis stupentibus, qui mortuus videbatur et erat, elevato capite, resedit in feretro, et, omnibus audientibus, alta et terribili voce clamabat: Justo Dei judicio accusatus sum, et hoc dicto, caput deposuit, et decubuit mortuus, sicut prius. 3. Qua voce cuncti attoniti et territi deliberaverunt, ipsum illo die nullo modo fore sepeliendum, sed usque in crastinum reservandum. Mane ergo sequenti cum multitudo maxima convenisset, et dictum funus, sicut prius, vellent ad ecclesiam deportare, defunctus, sicut prius, elevato capite, dolorosa et terribili voce intonuit: Justo Dei judicio judicatus sum. 4. Quam vocem multitudo, quae aderat, clare intelligens et audiens stupuit plus quam prius, et alterutrum conquirentes quid sibi vellent innuere tam insoliti et inexperti defuncti clamores, adhuc determinaverunt ipsum ad aliud crastinum usque nullatenus tumulandum. Tertio vero die cum propter ista prodigia civitas convenisset, et funus, cunctis praeparatis, vellent ad tumulum deportare, defunctus, sicut prius, jam tertio altissimo et moestissimo clamore personuit: Justo Dei judicio condemnatus sum. 5. Qua horribili sententia audita, quasi omnes immenso fuerunt timore et tremore percussi, certi facti de condemnatione tanti viri, qui inter alios et super alios videbatur honestate vitae, claritate famae, dignitatis excellentia, et multiplici scientia ac sapientia praefulgere. Ea tempestate erat ibi magister Bruno, natione Teutonicus, etc.

Bruno was so affected by this miracle that he and a few companions decided to devote their lives to prayer and contemplation in the wilderness. That was, according to the legend, the occasion of the founding of the Order of the Carthusians.

In the second life of St. Bruno by the Carthusian Francis Dupuy (Franciscus a Puteo) entitled Vita altera the story is told with a few additions, but the Latin exclamations are the same as in the Vita antiquior. The Vita altera is reprinted from an illustrated edition published at Basel in 1515. One of the illustrations represents this miracle.⁵ In the Vita tertia written by Lorenz Surius of Cologne on the basis of the lives of St. Bruno by Dupuy and by Peter Blömenvenna and published in Cologne in 1576, the last exclamation forms one of seven Latin hexameters inserted in the prose narrative: "Ah miser æternos vado damnatus ad ignes." (Cf. Migne, P. Col. 528.)

Cornelius de Bye in the Acta Sanctorum gives a detailed discussion of this legend in his Commentarius Praevius which Migne also reprints. De Bye has a list of about eighteen references to this story in the Latin church literature from the first occurrence of it in Caesar von Heisterbach and the Vita Antiquior to the end of the 16th century. The story is regularly told in connection with the life of St. Bruno and the founding of the Carthusian order. It was the favorite legend of the Carthusians down to modern times. The Latin words are generally given as in the Vita Antiquior, but occasionally damnatus is used for condemnatus.

⁵ Cf. Löbbel, l. c., p. 31.

⁶ Cf. Löbbel, l. c., p. 29.

Dionysius Richelius⁷ in his *De Praeconio sive laude Cartusinensis Ordinis* (about the middle of the 15th century) gives as last exclamation: "Justo Dei judicio aeternaliter sum damnatus," a form which corresponds most closely with the exclamation in the puppet play, though no direct connection must be assumed. The addition of "aeternaliter" or "in aeternum," as in the puppet play, emphasizes the horror of the situation, but according to the teaching of the Church the idea was contained in the exclamation even without the modifying phrase.

Jean Launoi, a learned French theologian, who in the middle of the 17th century attacked the legend as a pious fiction, states that the story is also mentioned by Dionysius Cartusianus, Johannes Nauclerus, Hartmann Schedel, Polydor Vergilius, Sixtus Senensis, Gabriel Prateolus "et recentiores alios."

Polydor Vergilius in his *De rerum inventoribus libri octo*⁹ gives a brief account of the founding of the Order of the Carthusians and tells the story in an abbreviated form: "contigit ut amicum quendam bonis moribus praeditum, et vita jam privatum, prius quam ad sepulturam daretur, audire visus sit clamantem, Justo Dei judicio damnatus sum." Hartmann Schedel in his *Liber Chronicorum*¹⁰ tells the story in the traditional way, the last exclamation being "Justo Dei judicio damnatus sum." The German edition, *Buoch der Croniken*, has the following account:

do was under yn einer die andern an klarheit der kunst, frümkeit desz lebens und hohem gerechde übertreffende der starb. die weyl nun die vigili in beywesen grosser und mercklicher antzal der doctor magister unnd anderer gelerten mer gesungen warde, do richtet sich der tod leychnam in der bar auff mitt grosser und klagender stymm schreyende. Ich byn ausz gerechtem gericht gotes verklagt. Desz erschracken all gegenwürtig und entslussen sich den leichnam desselben unbegraben ze lassen. Desz morgens schrye der tod leichnam wie vor. Am dritten tag kam schied die gantz Stat das wunderberlich ze hörn. Do stund der gestorben auff und schry Ich bin ausz gerechtem gottes gericht verdambt.

The story is told in French by F. N. Taillepied in his *Traité de l'apparition des Esprits*, Rouen, 1602, cap. 12, p. 122. Taillepied refers to the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais and to Polydore Vergil, where he found the story. As late as 1694 Hein-



⁷ Migne, l. c., Commentarius Praevius, §207.

⁸ Migne, l. c., Commentarius Praevius, §225 cf. also Löbbel, l. c., p. 30.

⁹ The first complete edition appeared in London, 1517. I am quoting from the edition of 1671 published at Nijmegen, p. 592.

¹⁰ Nürnberg 1493, Fol. exciiii.

¹¹ Augsburg, Johann Schönsperger 1500, p. ccxvii.

rich Kornmann, a Catholic writer, relates the story in his *Tractatus Secundus de Miraculis Mortuorum* (Frankfurt a. M.). The last exclamation appears as "Justo dei judicio damnatus sum." Kornmann also refers to Vincent of Beauvais. In a note he mentions as authorities for the story Polydor Vergil, Lavater's *De Spectris*, Petrus Bonfons in *Fastis antiquit. Parisiens*. lib. 2 c. 12., Taillepied, Franciscus Puteus' Vita Brunonis (quoted above), Petrus Thymeus de appar. Christi in judic. part. c. 6.

Ludwig Lavater, a Swiss Protestant writer, relates the story in his well-known book *De Spectris, Lemuribus*... variisque Praesagitionibus, Geneva 1580, p. 107.¹² In the last exclamation he has "condemnatus sum." He also refers to Vincent of Beauvais as an old authority for the story.

In some of the accounts the three exclamations are uttered by the dead man on the same day in short succession, in others they are made on three successive days.¹³

It is clear from what has been stated that the author or revisor of the Volksschauspiel of Dr. Faust in introducing the three Latin exclamations at the end of the play made use of a traditional story which was very well known especially in Roman Catholic circles. The exclamations may have recalled to many in the audience the gruesome story of the dead doctor at Paris. It is not unreasonable to assume that the exclamations originally belonged to a Catholic version of the play, though the story was not unknown among Protestants, as its occurrence in the work of the Protestant Ludwig Lavater shows. Nagl and Zeidler in their Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte (Wien, 1899, p. 734) point out that the close of the puppet play of Dr. Faust with its Latin sentences suggests Catholic influence, but the Latin also belongs to the older Volksschauspiel, as Schröder's account of the Danzig performance shows. In the Danzig performance the three exclamations occur simultaneously, as they appear in fiery letters at the end of the play. In the puppet plays, so far as they give the exclamations, they follow each other at short intervals in the last act. If in some of the plays we find the words "Fauste! praepara te!" preceding the first exclamation, we must recognize an independent addition. Schröder's oldest account we have the words "condemnatus est," which is the most common form in the different versions of the

¹² Two previous editions appeared in Zurich 1570 and 1578.

¹³ Cf. de Bye in Migne Patrol. l. c. §245.

legend, in the puppet plays we find the more emphatic and more dramatic form "In aeternum damnatus es!"

II. TWENTY-FOUR YEARS IN TWELVE

Mephistopheles in the puppet play shows his perfidy by informing Faust at the end of twelve years that the time of the compact has expired. He tells him that, as he had to work for him day and night, the twelve years, by counting the nights also, in reality represent the twenty-four years stipulated in the compact. The incident is found only in the puppet play, not in the various Faust books.

This trick of counting the nights to double the number of years or months seems to belong to popular tradition, though I can give only two parallels from the popular literature previous to and contemporaneous with the Volksschauspiel and puppet play of Dr. Faust. In a Dutch "sotternie" published by Hoffmann von Fallersleben in Horae Belgicae, Pars IV, no. ix (Breslau, 1838) from a manuscript belonging to the first decades of the fifteenth century we have a country bumpkin Rubben who has been married for three months, when his wife is delivered of a child. When he complains to the parents of his wife, his mother-in-law has a ready explanation: three months of betrothal, three months of marriage and three months counting the nights make nine months (vs. 135 ff.). Rubben accepts the explanation and regrets having worried so much for no reason. A similar incident we find in Jakob Avrer's carnival play Der Baur mit seim Gefatter Todt. 14 The peasant Claus Gerngast has been married six months when he becomes the father When another peasant doubts his paternity, Gerngast of a child. himself explains the situation (p. 2478, vs. 21 ff.):

> Thu ich doch keinen zweiffel tragn, Das mit meim Weib nicht recht geh zu! Ich kan so wol rechen als du, Doch wenn du rechnest tag und nacht, Es eben grad heut ein Jahr macht, Dasz ich mein Weib genommen han.

The trick was known to the ancient Egyptians. Herodotus (Book II, c. 133) tells of the Egyptian king Mycerinus who was told by the oracle that he had only six more years to live.

Mycerinus, when this answer reached him, perceiving that his doom was fixed, had lamps prepared which he lighted every day at eventime, and feasted and enjoyed himself unceasingly both day and night, moving about in the

¹⁴ Werke ed. Keller, IV, 2467 ff.

marsh-country and the woods, and visiting all the places that he heard were agreeable sojourns. His wish was to prove the oracle false, by turning the nights into days, and so living twelve years in the space of six.

The old English translation of the second book of Herodotus (London, 1584, fol. 106b) has the marginal note: "Mycerinus made twelve years of sixe." Herodotus himself calls the story "foolish talk." According to Wolf Aly, Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinen Zeitgenossen (Göttingen, 1921, p. 68) we have here a popular tradition.

The story of Mycerinus outwitting the oracle by adding the nights to the days and so doubling the years allotted to him is also mentioned in Claudius Aelianus' Varia Historia, Lib. II, cap. 41.

The counting of the nights in all four instances is for the purpose of deception. Mycerinus wants to get the better of the oracle, Mephistopheles tricks Faust out of twelve years of life and enjoyment, Rubben in the Dutch farce is imposed upon by his mother-in-law, and the simple-minded peasant in Ayrer's carnival play deceives himself.

¹⁵ G. Rawlinson, The History of Herodotus, II, 178. New York 1859.

SOUTHEY'S ECLOGUES

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An earlier article¹ showed how Wordsworth's pastorals illustrated a program which had been outlined by Hugh Blair and which extended the range of this sort of poetry. Advising against "the operations of violent and direful passions," Dr. Blair had recommended emphasis on "more of the narrative and sentimental" than had been usual and suggested "the various adventures which give occasion to those engaged in country life to display their disposition and temper; the scenes of domestic felicity or disquiet; the attachment of friends and brothers; the rivalship and competition of lovers; the unexpected successes or misfortunes of families." The subsequent development as illustrated in English literature and elsewhere—with and apart from the influence of Blair—brought about a more realistic treatment than was the case when there was a close imitation of the "classical" type.

A special case of such divergence from the earlier established procedure with the eclogue is found in Southey.³ The object of this paper is to examine his claims to novelty and to suggest a possible relationship of his work to the dramatic monologue⁴ as well as idyls in the nineteenth century.

T

In the note of 1799 preceding the *English Ecloques* (the adjective *English* was to be emphatic), Southey said,

^{1 &}quot;Wordsworth and Hugh Blair," Phil. Quart., VI (1927), 277 ff. For other urging, that the scope of pastoral be extended, cf. The Mirror, no. 79 (1780) (The British Essayists, ed. A. Chalmers, 1817, XXXV, 133-7).

² Lecture XXXIX (Philadelphia, 1784).

³ Perhaps Southey knew Blair's Lectures. Coleridge at least was acquainted with Vol. II, during the period when he and Southey were at Bristol: Paul Kaufman, "The reading of Southey and Coleridge from Bristol Library, 1793-1798," Mod. Phil., XI (1924), p. 320. Southey read Theocritus then, p. 318. Marion K. Bragg, "The Formal Eclogue in Eighteenth-Century England" (Univ. Maine Studies, 2d Ser., No. 6, Orono, 1926) has overlooked much of the material connecting Southey with the eclogue.

⁴ Cf. Claud Howard, "The Dramatic Monologue: its Origin and Development," Studies in Philol. (N. Car.), IV (1910), 33-88; M. C. McCallum" "The Dramatic Monologue in the Victorian Period," Proc. Brit. Acad., Warton Lecture of English Poetry, XVI.

The following Eclogues, I believe, bear no resemblance to any poem in our language. This species of composition has become popular in Germany, and I was induced to attempt it by what was told me of the German Idylls by my friend Mr. William Taylor of Norwich. So far, therefore, these pieces may be deemed imitations, though I am not acquainted with the German language at present, and have never seen any translations or specimens in this kind.

With bad Eclogues I am sufficiently acquainted, from Tityrus and Corydon down to our English Strephons and Thirsisses. No kind of poetry can boast of more illustrious names, or is more distinguished by the servile dulness of imitated nonsense. Pastoral writers 'more silly than their sheep,' have, like their sheep, gone on in the same track one after another. Gay struck into a new path. His eclogues were the only ones which interested me when I was a boy, and did not know they were burlesque. The subject would furnish matter for an essay, but this is not the place for it.⁵

Southey, so far as I can learn, never wrote the essay. Nevertheless, by examining both his verse and his prose, we can conjecture some remarks that he would have made.⁶

Southey's ideas are significant. They must be viewed, however, in the light of earlier work of the poet. Before the English Eclogues (which date mostly from 1797 to 1799, but include two that came later) he had written four Botany-bay Eclogues (Oxford, 1794). As a group, these purported to give the point of view of a number of characters who had been punished by being exiled from England to the convicts' colony. Southey could not have had much direct evidence as to their feelings; though he may have had testimony from relatives and similar information, he must have employed chiefly his sympathetic understanding. He assumed, moreover, that all the characters were at first essentially innocent; that is, circumstances had led them into situations wherein they

 $^{^5\,}Poetical\,\,Works,$ p. 149; he said much the same thing in the first edition, Poems (Bristol, 1799).

⁶ In his review of Lord Holland's "Life of Lope de Vega," Quarterly Review, XVIII (1818), 1 ff. he seized an opportunity to discuss Lope's Arcadia (together with Sannazaro and George of Montemayor) and to explain the charm and popularity of pastoral composition from the days of Theocritus. In effect the cause lies in the instinctive appeal of the varied country life even to mature persons who live in the town. The impulse is more frequent perhaps in climates more regularly genial than that of England, e.g., in Spain. (Southey's mention of the nora, or water wheel, is apt.)

⁷ Pp. 103 ff. Coleridge approved of "Elinor and Frederick," letter (1796) to Joseph Cottle in the latter's Reminiscences of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey (London, 1847), pp. 100-101. William Haller, The Early Life of Robert Southey (New York, 1917), p. 76, deems them satirical flings at government, hardly more than jeux d'esprit. He speaks, pp. 275, 282, of varying views of the early group, as expressed in the Critical Review. In Vol. XIX (1797), 305-307, it singled out "Elinor" for full quotation. The title of the group apparently had value later to enforce satire on an incident which concerned the distinguished botanist, Sir J. E. Smith; cf. "Loch-and-bar," "A Botany Bay Eclogue," in the style of Scott's "Young Lochinvar," Blackwood's Mag., VIII (1820), 123-124.

were driven to crime, and consequently were penalized. The general tone, was, therefore, humanitarian, and permitted the expression of religious penitence.

Two of these eclogues, Elinor and Frederic, are monologues in blank verse. Neither suggests an audience, though the second includes a prayer to God. The former presents the thoughts of a woman who recalls the English scene with which she had been familiar, and who is now tolerably content with an honest mode of living. The latter reveals the state of mind of a man who while temporarily lost in a wood fears death on account of his sins. Neither poem has the machinery or the substance of classical pastoral. Frederic is the more vigorous because of the situation in which the speaker finds himself, but Elinor has pathos. Both reflect past experiences of the individual speaking.

Through the use of dialogue, the other two eclogues (written in heroic couplets) come closer to the classical type. John, Samuel, and Richard even sets up a judge, Dick, who is to determine which of his companions has suffered in previous life the worse evils. At the end he can render no decision between the soldier Samuel and the sailor John. The poem is a homely adaptation of the amœbæan machinery of ancient pastoral. The fact that it makes primary use of the past unites it with the other eclogues of the group including Humphrey and William. In this last each of the two men, as they are at their noon meal, relates the occasion for his present situation. William had been a prosperous farmer who, because his corn was repeatedly injured by a covey, shot the game, though it was under preserve. He was caught and unjustly penalized. Humphrey, a ploughboy attending a fair, had been inveigled to enlist. He eventually went wrong, associated with immoral women, and was caught stealing. The upshot of the poem is that injustice and corruption arise from two notable institutions of society, the landed aristocracy (or property) and the army. The portrait of the recruiting sergeant is capital, and indeed, makes this easily the best of the Botany-Bay Eclogues and better than any of the English Eclogues. The group of four prove that, for Southey, an eclogue need have neither shepherds nor pastoral machinery. The theme of love has been dismissed. The mood is not one of escape from the busy-ness of life or a yearning for a Golden Age. Rather the purpose is in part humanitarian. Moreover, it emphasizes the feelings and reactions of common people. In fact, the ecloguewhether dialogue or monologue—has become a vehicle for the study of mental states and of points of view other than those of the writer himself and his own experience. They move therefore toward the method that Browning employed for his dramatic lyrics. But the single auditor who is usually present in the dramatic lyric is absent from the monologues of Southey's. In the dialogues he is not merely an auditor. Though Southey was on the road to Browning, he had not in this group achieved the same goal. The pastoral, weary of its former functions, was reaching out for a new office, namely, to develop interest in different points of view, and thus foreshadowed The Northern Farmer, The Italian in England, The Englishman in Italy, Up in a Villa, Down in the City, and other dramatic idyls of Tennyson and Browning.

With such novelty in view, it is at first sight surprising that Southey should have considered his later series⁸ of eclogues more original than the earlier. Presumably he felt that the second series not only had a different origin but was more directly based on his own observations of country life in England.⁹ In neither group, however, did he make any pretense of treating a shepherd's life. Furthermore, the pictures of English life in the latter do not particularly resemble those in the German pastoral concerning which, as I indicated above, Taylor had told Southey. To a considerable degree, the material in the first series, based as it was on reminiscences of England, afforded the reader much the same view of society as did that of the later series. The realism of *Humphrey*

⁸ In The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey, ed. by his son, C. C. Southey (New York, 1851), p. 106, a passage to his brother Thomas, August 29, 1798, reads, "I have begun my English Eclogues, and written two which I rather like." P. 107, a letter to Taylor, December 27, 1798 (printed as of 1758): "My leisure is quite destroyed; had it not been for this, I should, ere this, have sent you the remainder of my Eclogues." P. 111, a letter to Taylor, May 9, 1799: he refers to the Lyrical Ballads (but not to reading them) and to Bodmer's Noah, which Taylor had sent him and by which Southey would learn German. Further details as to his knowledge of German and of pastoral are the following: letter to G. C. Bedford, July 31, 1796 (p. 91),—he has read in translation, Cabal and Love, and knowing of Taylor and having read his translations from Bürger, he wants to learn more about him; letter to Bedford, October,—he speaks of having read Saint-Pierre; at the age of eight to twelve he had read Gessner's Death of Abel (p. 38); by June 26, 1797, he speaks of Florian's style. He became acquainted with Taylor in 1798 and studied German with him.

⁹ Haller, Early Life, pp. 217-19, connects the two groups of eclogues closely. The Critical Review (1803) approved of the English Eclogues. In Vol. XXVI (1799), 163-64, it pointed out their resemblance to some German idyls. It praised especially "The Funeral" and "The Ruined Cottage"; the language of the others it found too simple.

and William suggests a permanent aspect of English society such as was recorded a century later by Hardy and Housman.

TT

For the purpose of discovering more closely the impression that Taylor tried to convey to Southey in regard to the German pastorals, 10 we have fortunately a composition by Taylor himself written like the German poems in hexameters. "The Show, an English Eclogue," occurs in the Annual Anthology (Vol. II, 1800, pp. 200-210) under the anagram, Ryalto. The setting is in the country. Brother and sister, Henry and Margaret, while they talk at their ease, see approaching a Jewish peddler, who proves to be an exhibitor of a show-box. For them, Isaac displays views of Paris. Versailles, and scenes of the French revolution. By means of dialogue, the author gives the points of view of each character, and ends on the note that Henry is happy not to be in warfare, but to live in the country toiling for home and children. Any conflict which he would choose would not go beyond the sports on the village green. The last touch is given when Margaret teases her brother about the wilfulness of his sweetheart Louisa. selected a homely incident to illustrate how the secure English countryside had reacted toward the revolutionary turmoil across the channel. The reference to the military recalls Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea¹¹ as well as Southey's John, Samuel, and

The Memoir of William Taylor of Norwich has much of the correspondence between Taylor and Southey. There is material about hexameters, I, 157 ff., 308-312. Taylor condemns Gessner, I, 215-16, but praises Voss's Luise and gives (September 26, 1798) his translation of the humorous The Devil in Bann (which appeared in the Monthly Magazine, VII, and also in his Historic Survey of German Poetry, 3 vols., London, 1828-1830), with translations of two humanitarian eclogues, II, 58 ff. In the Memoir the letters about eclogues begin chiefly with that of Southey to Taylor, July 24, 1798, in which he speaks of reviving an earlier enterprise and of aiming 'at something of domestic interest.' He sends therefore The Old Mansion House. From time to time he forwards others, and regularly receives criticism. Taylor From time to time he forwards others, and regularly receives criticism. Taylor under the date of Jan. 4, 1799 (pp. 241 ff.) finds Southey's idyls ''too uniformly plaintive and melancholy,' and asking for ''cheerful sides,' ''ipictures of felicity,' suggests Maydays, harvest-homes, and Christmas times.

Taylor, in Historic Survey is more favorable to Gessner, I, 205 ff. In III, 33 ff., he gives translations of two humanitarian idyls by Herder, Zimeo, and dislores The Rightlags in which are American Orelard favorables along.

a dialogue, The Birthday, in which an American Quaker frees his slave.

¹¹ That such works varied in their attitude toward wars is illustrated by the publication (Annual Register, Vol. XLIV, 1802, pp. 837-8,) of a translation of Hermann's patriotic speech (into blank verse), which was used to inspirit the English during that anxious year. For Taylor, consult also Georg Herzfeld, "William Taylor of Norwich," Studien zur englischen Philologie, Vol. II (Halle, 1897). He believed that The Show is influenced clearly by Voss and possibly by Hermann und Dorothea. He also indicated Taylor's

Richard and The Sailor's Mother. At the same time Taylor employed surprising but felicitous detail and humor of the sort that enlivens many German eclogues. Since humor and piquancy become noticeable in only the second group of Southey's Eclogues, the presence of these qualities in The Show as well as in German pastoral makes specific the effect upon Southey.

TTT

Scrutinizing more closely the second series, for which Southey claimed novelty even apart from the German influence, we find that the poems are related to notes in his *Commonplace Book*.¹² Under "Subjects for Idylls" occur such items as:

From what William Taylor has told me of the Idylls of Gessner and Voss, and the translation he has shown me of one by Goethe, I am tempted to introduce them here. Surely I also can seize the fit objects of common life, and place them in the right point of view.

Southey was perhaps not aware that the charm of Gessner and Voss lies partly in their styles. The subject matter also was different. To resume:

A village wedding. The feelings that I and poor Edmund Seward experienced in Bedfordshire that evening; even the scenery will excellently suit. A hamlet well embowered in elms amid a flat country: the evening clear: the distant bells. The traveller and a woman, a poor married woman.

He developed this theme in *The Wedding*: "The visit from Oxford to Godstow. This I will try in hexameters."

As a matter of fact, none of the *English Ecloques* is in hexameters; all are in blank verse. Southey experimented with hexameters later in *The Vision of Judgment*, and discussed their use in English.¹³ The early interest in hexameters came from the fact that many of the German pastorals were written in hexameters, as Taylor must have informed him.

A ruined mansion-house,—rather going to ruin. An old man breaking stones on the road (or some such hard labour) must be the other speaker, who remembered its old master. Or would it not be well to make this like the fine old house at Stowey, being modernized by a young heir—the yew trees cut down—the casement windows altered—the porch and its jessamine destroyed? and old hospitality, and old fashions, and old benevolence, all gone together?

interest in English and other hexameters, pp. 36-39. Taylor, it may be added, was in Paris watching the course of the Revolution during 1790.

¹² Ed. J. W. Warter (his son-in-law) (London, 1850), 4 vols., Fourth Series, p. 95. Cf. for unused subjects, pp. 194-197.

¹³ Cf. Commonplace Book, p. 1; preface to the tenth volume, Collected Edition, 1838. Cf. also for Coleridge: Cottle, Reminiscences, pp. 126-28.

This was developed in The Old Mansion House.

The funeral of a young man, the last of his family. A fine young man, the victim of a public school and a university. The old steward to relate it.

This was treated in The Last of the Family.

A woman going to see her son, lying in a hospital after having been wounded by the French stinkpots.

This corresponds to The Sailor's Mother.

A ruined cottage. Its story not to be told in dialogue. A mother and her daughter one dwelling there. The girl a street-walker now—the mother dying at the work-house.

With a greater change of detail than for the other cases, the theme is that of *The Ruined Cottage*. Southey commented somewhat at length upon special aspects:

The ruined cottage has matter for a best poem. The path over-grown,—the hollyhock blooming amid weeds. It shall be related to a friend whom I have purposely led there in an evening walk. She may be described as when a girl the May Queen. The idle fellows standing on the bridge in the way to church would look up from the water as she passed, and bid her good to-morrow. Something may be said on the strange want of conscience in the libertine.

In some respects the thought but not the development is that of Wordsworth's *Ruth*.

At the same time Southey asserted that

The vices of the poor should not be kept out of sight when their miseries are exposed. I think an eclogue can be made upon an industrious woman afflicted with a drunken, bad husband.

He did not develop this hint. The point which Southey makes about vices goes rather farther than Blair's program, and also suggests somewhat another emphasis than that which Wordsworth would have put upon the same situation.

I shall not deal with the plots of the *English Ecloques* in detail, since the essential element is given above. Some comment may be made on Southey's method and attitude in the nine poems.¹⁴

¹⁴ In Letters, ed. A. Ainger (London, 1904), 2 vols., I, Charles Lamb offered Southey criticism of eclogues submitted to him. To some of his suggestions the poet acceded. The dates are about the middle of October, 1798 (No. LXIV), November 3, 1798, and March 15, 1799, the last after the volume containing the eclogues had been published. Lamb referred specifically to The Ruined Cottage, The Funeral (that is, Hannah), The Witch, The Sailor's Mother, and to The Last of the Family, which Southey had omitted then. Lamb (November 3, 1798) also made a suggestion to employ the material of a country wedding, but a letter of Southey's to Taylor of September 5, 1798 had presented an eclogue employing such a theme: J. W. Robberds, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late William Taylor of Norwich, 2 vols. (London, 1843). A resemblance of The Ruined Cottage to Lamb's short prose



Hannah, the only one dated 1797, seems to have been written before Southey's conversations with William Taylor. Dealing tamely in the third person with the story of a girl who has been ruined and abandoned, it lacks the spirit that appeared in the eclogues written after the indirect German influence. Several eclogues came the next year: The Old Mansion-House gives a controversial dialogue between an old man and a stranger, who becomes by a quick turn at the end a hospitable new Squire; The Sailor's Mother, developing a contentious dialogue between a woman and a traveler one cold evening, shows the man to be but partly sympathetic, and reveals the injustice of society in much the same way as Hardy does; The Grandmother's Tale (told to children) concerns the murder of an old woman by a smuggler and the effect upon his conscience,—another theme like those in the short tales of Hardy but startling for an ecloque; The Witch (told by a father to his son) sets forth an old woman who as a witch is reproved by the curate, but who—as Southey perceived with a flash of ironic insight—cannot restrain a last fling at the departed monitor,

but he don't believe In witchcraft, and that is not like a Christian.

In 1799 came two more eclogues. The Ruined Cottage represents a man as talking to Charles (equivalent to Charles Lamb) about the house, and then after an incidental reference to pastoral romances, relating with sudden climax the seduction of Joanna and the death of her grandmother. The form is a monologue with an auditor present. In The Last of the Family, two men converse with each other at a young man's funeral.

The following year brought *The Wedding*, which contrasts the views of a traveler and a woman about poverty. She insists that idleness does not explain the wretchedness of the poor,—a position evidently accepted by the poet. Married life is made hard by sickness, all the more when the family includes several children. Southey does not appear to object to the size of her family, but presumably agrees with her that nobody should marry without savings.

romance of seduction, Rosamund Gray (published 1798) has been pointed out, and Lamb suggested that both the poem and his romance have something in common with a ballad of a Roger-Lothario, some country fellow. The old woman dies similarly in ecloque and romance. Points in the romance suggest Hardy's Tess of the Durbervilles: the name of the hero, Allan Clare; several circumstances of the seduction; and the association of violence with the death of the villain.



In 1803 the group was completed by The Alderman's Funeral, 15 in which a stranger learns from a townsman that though the wealthy man who was buried had always kept the law, he had been not merely over-zealous in acquiring his fortune, but essentially uncharitable.

As a group the second series of Southey's Ecloques distinguished points of view by means of dialogue. The themes were usually humanitarian. Like Goldsmith's The Deserted Village they expressed sympathy for the hardships brought about by social movements. The unpleasant aspect of life recalls Crabbe, but the author substituted for the procedure of a tale that of a dramatic monologue or a pastoral eclogue. The novelty which Southey professed apart from humor probably was due to a combination of humanitarianism with greater emphasis on incident than had been customary in eclogues, that is, developed realistic narrative.

Southey felt, I believe, a greater distinction between his two series of eclogues than was warranted. In laying stress upon narrative for pastoral, he was following a suggestion of Hugh Blair. In the Commonplace Book Southey declared that pastoral poetry

must be made interesting by story. The characters must be such as are to be found in nature; these must be sought in an age or country of simple manners. The shepherds and shepherdesses of romance are beings that can be found nowhere. Such a work will not, therefore, be pastoral, but it will be something better. It will neither have pastoral love nor pastoral verses. 16

The form of Southey's notes is such that his intention is not clear; he appears to have had in mind a new sort of pastoral romance. He had already experimented with epic narrative, and believed that he could adapt its technique to pastoral. Apparently

¹⁶ P. 215.



¹⁵ Life, etc., a letter to Walter Scott, 1809, p. 259, "I have finished an English Eclogue, which is at Ballantyne's service"; again, p. 260, a reference to it with its origin: this is *The Alderman's Funeral.*—His interest in eclogues to it with its origin: this is The Alderman's Funeral.—His interest in eclogues had continued, therefore, for some time. In a letter to Bedford, April 3, 1803 (p. 159), he says, 'I could, and perhaps will, some day, write an eclogue upon leaving an old place of residence.' In regard to his friend, Wordsworth, he has pleasant remarks about similar poems: thus July 11, 1801 (p. 146), 'I feel here as a stranger—somewhat of Leonard's feeling. God bless Wordsworth for that poem'' (referring to The Brothers). Again, December 8, 1807, to Walter Scott (p. 230), 'The Leechgatherer is one of my favorites; there he has caught Spenser's manner, and, in many of the better poemets, has equally caught the best manner of old Wither, who, with all his long fits of dulness and prosing, had the heart and soul of a poet in him.' The Alderman's Funeral reappeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, LXXXII, Pt. 2 (1812), 61-62, as 'an English Eclogue by Southey, but not in his Works,'—an indication of a sustained interest in this sort of verse.

he did not realize that his real forte might have been in the eclogue itself; Mr. Elton¹⁷ has expressed an opinion that Southey could have succeeded better in the field which he neglected after his early experiments. At any rate, trying to effect something new, Southey thought of Robin Hood as the center for a compromise between romance and pastoral.¹⁸ After dwelling on the limitations of such a possibility, he asked,

What becomes of the pastoral? Every thing, however, that is good in the pastoral may still be retained. Scenes of natural beauty, and descriptions of simple life.

The popular belief of fairies, goblins, witches, and ghosts, and the Catholic saint-system render any machinery needless... In this I can introduce the fine incident of my schoolboy tale. After long absence a young man approaches his native eastle, and finds it in ruins. It is evening; and by the moonlight he sees a woman sitting on a grave. His beaver is down. She runs to him and calls him father; for it is his sister, watching her father's grave, a maniac.

This passage provides a reason why Southey dismissed eclogues early. He felt a keener interest in romance than in pastoral, he wanted more elbow room than the eclogue allowed, he was fascinated by ballad themes and by romantic notions of moonlight, knighthood, wandering, and madness. Moreover, despite the genuine sensibility to nature and the close observation of her which is displayed in many of his poems and is confirmed by his Commonplace Book, 19 he had no such original powerful passion or philosophy as would enable him to mould nobly the realistic material of the new form of pastoral while he experimented with it. He illustrated, nevertheless, a mood of the time; he looked forward, unconsciously it may be, to several chief forms of interest during the nineteenth century, among them the romantic idyls of Haidee, Madeline, and Arthur.

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Thus Southey fumbled with eclogue and pastoral romance. He fell among several stools. He lingered long with pure romance. He experimented with humanitarian and realistic eclogues, and planned to make the narrative element in the form more conspicu-



¹⁷ Oliver Elton, A Survey of English Literature (1780-1880), 4 vols. (New York, 1920), II, 2-3. F. E. Pierce, Currents and Eddies in the English Romantic Generation (New Haven, 1918), pp. 51 f., also grants praise to the English Eclogues.

¹⁸ Cf. George a Greene, As You Like It, The Sad Shepherd, and the Robin Hood plays. In the Life, November 25, 1809, Southey has "I shall pitch Robin Hood in a different key—such as the name would lead one to expect—a wild, pastoral movement, in the same sort of plastic meter as Garci Ferrandez." His fragment was published in Edinburgh, 1847.

¹⁹ Cf. pp. 4 ff., 55, 200.

ous. Without doubt he enlarged the scope of the eclogue, somewhat in accordance with Hugh Blair's program, and in so doing, coöperated with Wordsworth to make pastoral something new for England. Toward the end of his life he struck a vein of idyllic prose²⁰ which demonstrated that he was a writer of numerous talents and occasional gleams of genius.

From the standpoint of field of the ecloque and the idyl, rather than that of the author himself, the significant elements of the Botany-Bay Eclogues and the English Eclogues may be put in brief compass. Save for dialogue, the classical machinery had gone. Among the monologues occurred one with a somewhat definite auditor. This poem, The Ruined Cottage, approached the dramatic lyric. It possibly put more emphasis on narrative, however, and it did not exhibit the state of mind of somebody different from Two monologues of the first series did so, however, yet in both instances without an auditor. On the whole, the groups, especially in the dialogues, afforded points of view apart from that of the author. Though Southey's eclogues, like Wordsworth's pastorals, dealt with English life and revealed sympathy with the lot of ordinary folk, their interest in humble affairs was not wholly philanthropic, it was in a measure dramatic and psychological. Even the humanitarian theme may be deemed parallel with the aims of Browning when he employed many of his dramatic lyrics and idyls to inculcate personal doctrines of liberty, art, and love.

The dramatic monologue, in the sense that we employ it in connection with Browning, did not establish itself till the time of the Victorians. With Browning and Tennyson it displayed competence and range. Southey's mingling of dialogues with monologues, both of a somewhat peculiar type when compared with the tradition previously dominant in eclogues, showed plainly that a new form of eclogue or idyl was struggling for development. If on the one hand the pastorals of Wordsworth encouraged a new sort of idyl for English country life, it would appear that the eclogues of Southey signified a dissolution of the classical form in another way and, in substitution for it, a groping toward the dramatic monologue as the nineteenth century came to realize it.

²¹ The topic of Southey's monodramas could not be included in this paper.



²⁰ The scanty plot of the miscellany entitled *The Doctor* (1834-47), 2 vols. in 1 (New York, 1864), affords a number of realistic country scenes that agree in temper with Southey's poetry of the nineties and yet are not far from the idyllic spirit of *Cranford*. Especially is this true of the chapters about the boyhood of Doctor Daniel Dore and his winning of Deborah Bacon, and about the affairs of Leonard and Margaret.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN THE ROMANS D'AVENTURE

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In a recent study,1 an effort was made to search for references to foreign languages in the Chansons de geste and to determine to what extent their authors-and through them, their public-were conscious of the disparity of speech existing in France at this period. It was found that the early epics were surprisingly rich in such allusions, informing us frequently not only of the differences in speech, but of the many and varied difficulties occasioned by them. Since the romans d'aventure are a product of the same civilization and offer many points in common with the chansons de geste, our curiosity was aroused to discover to what degree these linguistic phenomena would appear in this related body of purely fictitious literature. In our search we shall not limit ourselves to romans d'aventure conceived in any special acceptation of the term, but to any roman of the XIIth or XIIIth centuries, whatever be its genre, for as Langlois points out,2 in the Middle Ages "tous les romans étaient pour eux, d'aventures."

The chansons de geste, as we know, deal very largely with the conflict between the Christians and pagans. Here, of course, was an obvious clash of nationalities. But it is also to be noticed that many foreign-speaking elements were to be found within the ranks of the French themselves, and this contact with various races and tongues gave rise, as was inevitable, to much linguistic confusion and to certain definite and frequently recurring problems and situations. Although the romans d'aventure are no longer concerned primarily with wars and the Saracens, it is interesting to find that many of the same linguistic difficulties are still present in the mind of the poet.

Reminiscent of the chansons de geste is the enumeration of the

² La Vie en France au Moyen Age d'après des romans mondains du temps, Paris, 1926, p. xix.



¹ Milton H. Stansbury: Foreign Languages and Interpreters in the Chansons de Geste, Diss., Philadelphia, 1926.

polyglot forces composing the French army as arrayed against the Saracens in *Partonopeus de Blois*:³

A lui vienent li Loherenc E li Frison et li Flamenc, Li Peitevin et li Gascon Et li Normant et li Breton Et cil del Maine et cil del France, Et Aleman, Saisne et Tiois;⁴ Cel de Melans et de Pavie Et de par tote Lonbardie.

When it is not the drawing-up of an army—which, as we have said, is of rarer occurrence in the *romans*—it may be in the tourney that we shall expect to find the assembling of foreign-speaking peoples. At the tournament at Ressons in the *Roman de la Manekine*,⁵ for example, a vast throng is gathered, composed of:

.... Flamens et Escotois, Boulenisien et Artisien,⁶ Brebençon et Vermandisien,⁷ Flamenc et Normant et Pouhier,⁸ Alemant, Thiois et Baivier, Vinrent Biauvoisien, bien le say, Berruier, Breton et François, Et Potevin et Hurepois,⁹ Et Champenois tout ensement.

Likewise, in representations of court-scenes, such as the following from Galeran, there may be encountered a great variety of races, and among these, the French, properly speaking, are definitely differentiated from the neighboring peoples:

La son assemble Bourgeignon, Et Loherenc et Alemant, Flamenc y a et Avaloys, Et Brebenchens et Bouleigneys; Ce sont Berruier et Mancel,¹¹ Françoys, Normans et Poitevin, Gascon, Breton et Angevin,



³ P. p. G. A. Crapelet, 2 vol., Paris, 1834.

⁴ According to M. Remppis in *Die Vorstellungen von Deutschland im altfr. Heldenepos*, Beih. z. Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XXXIV, p. 4, Germany was composed of the 'Aleman' in the south, and of the 'Tiois' and the 'Saisne' in the northwest and northeast respectively.

⁵ Soc. d. anc. textes fr., p. p. H. Suchier, 2 vol., Paris, 1884, v. 2666 ff.

⁶ People from the neighborhood of Arras.

⁷ People from Saint Quentin.

⁸ People from Picardy.

⁹ Inhabitants in the territory comprised between the Seine, Marne and Loire rivers.

¹⁰ Romanische Bibliothek, hrg. v. W. Foerster, Halle, 1891, v. 4648 ff.

¹¹ People from Maine.

so many strangers, we are told, that it is impossible to accommodate them all in the single city of Metz:

Tant y a dames et seigneurs Qu'en Mez ne puent hebergier.

Most frequently in these cases the poet is too engrossed in his story to bother about informing us of the disparity of speech which he must naturally have supposed to exist. The same was true for the *chansons de geste* and its parallel is to be found in all story-telling up to the present day. When the poet does take pains, however, to mention a divergence of speech, it is of real significance in supplying us, as it does, with useful information as to the linguistic barriers and the interest in foreign tongues existing in these early days.

The various dialects within the French language itself seem to have been clearly recognized, and the French of Paris-such as we are told Queen Berte spoke-was by no means an all-sufficient linguistic medium. The chansons de geste make frequent allusions to these differences in dialect and we are reminded of the passage from the Entrée d'Espagne, 12 whose author claims that the chronicle he is following is written in French in which there is not a word of Burgundian. This holds true for other genres of poetry of the Middle Ages, familiar examples of which may be found in Jean de Meung, who apologizes for his rustic dialect, his French not being that of Paris; and in Conon de Béthune, who complains of being ridiculed for employing the dialect of Artois. In the roman of Jehan et Blonde, 13 the English maiden Blonde is said to speak French with an English accent as if she "ne fu pas nee a Pontoise." In Meliador,14 where the action takes place in Great Britain, the poet refers on several occasions to the fact that the language spoken there is "breton" and not French; once, when we are informed that this hero, who comes from Cornwall, sings a certain "rondelet" "en breton, non pas en françois";15 and again, when on the Isle of Man, he addresses a group of native fishermen:

> Tant parlerant, non en ebrieu¹⁶ Mais en breton, bel et a point.¹⁷

¹² Soc. d. anc. textes fr., p. p. A. Thomas, 2 vol., Paris, 1913, v. 2798 ff.

¹³ Soc. d. anc. textes fr., p. p. H. Suchier, Paris, 1885, v. 358-9.

¹⁴ Soc. d. anc. textes fr., p. p. A. Longnon, 3 vol., Paris, 1895.

¹⁵ v. 7733-4.

¹⁶ In "ebrieu" must be recognized a stock expression for any pagan tongue. 17 v. 11725-6.

We shall see later how the use of interpreters is another indication of the poet's consciousness of the disparity in speech.

It was seen how frequently in the chansons de geste the poets refer to the linguistic ability of their heroes. They were obviously interested in such achievement and this ability is signalized not only among the clerks, messengers, and interpreters, whose special office it was to know foreign languages, but in Charlemagne, Roland, William of Orange, and a long list of others, who are always pictured as proud of any linguistic attainment, which was apparently considered a necessary element in the education of the well-born. It is interesting to find confirmation of this idea in our romans and to learn that it was the custom for great lords to be instructed in foreign tongues. This is the testimony of the author of Cleomadès, 18 who informs us that:

... a celui tans vraiement Ert coustume communaument Que li grant seignour qui estoient Adont de clergie savoient Et savoient de tous langages; Tex estoit adont li usage.

Of Blancandin, who is represented as the son of the King of Frisia, we are informed that his education was entrusted to an interpreter to instruct him in foreign languages:

Li latimiers par fu tant sages Qui bien l'aprist de tos langages;¹⁹

while his linguistic ability is attested in another passage, where he is said to read a certain document written in Greek:

Bien sot que les letres disoient Qui en grigois faites estoient.²⁰

Later, when shipwrecked off the coast of India and stranded at an unfriendly court composed of Saracens and other pagans, he is able by artificially darkening his skin and adopting their language to make good his escape:

Sarrasin dist qu'il se fera Et lor langage parlera, Car il set bien Sarrasinois Et bien Latin et bien Grigois.²¹



¹⁸ p. p. André van Hasselt, Bruxelles 1865, v. 1478 ff.

¹⁹ Blancandin et l'Orgueilleuse d'Amour, p. p. H. Michelant, Paris 1867, v. 37-8.

²⁰ Op. cit., v. 899-90.

²¹ Op. cit., v. 2245 ff.

In another passage we learn that he employs the Greek language in order to insure the secrecy of his conversation from certain natives of India who are present:

> Blancandins parole et Grigois Que n'es entendent li Indois;

while immediately after, Latin is chosen for the same purpose, although the reason for such fluctuation is not made apparent:

Et li provos estoit bien clers Et de pluisors langes fers; En latin li a dit briement Que nus des autres ne l'entent.²²

The King of Scotland had been put to the study of Latin and French in his youth:

Il savoit bien lire rommans En sa jovence l'eut apris Car son maistre ot o lui tous dis Qui tant l'aprist qu'il seut escire Et le romans et latin lire.²³

while in Jehan de Paris,²⁴ it is said that the King and Queen of Spain required that their daughter be instructed in many languages. Cleomadès, son of an imaginary king of Spain, is sent to Greece to acquire the language of that country, and later to Cologne, to master the German tongue or "tiois":

Le fist ses peres envoiier En Grece et aprendre griiois; Quant grieu sot, pour savoir tiois Vint a Couloigne en Alemaigne; En cel pays tant demora Qu'il sot tyois.²⁵

Alexander is described as an able linguist, having been taught by Aristotle of Athens; his accomplishments included a knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaean, and Latin, and this ability is referred to in various passages throughout the poem:

Alixandres l'entent sans autre latinier Quar de tous les langages s'estoit fait endoctriner Alixandre qui set de maint langage Li rois qui des langages est tous bien doctrines.²⁶

²² Op. cit., v. 2898 ff.

²³ Roman de la Manekine, op. cit., v. 3207 ff.

²⁴ P.p. Edith Wickersheimer, Soc. d. anc. textes fr., Paris 1923, p. 17-8.

²⁵ Op. cit., v. 25 ff.

²⁶ Li Romans d'Alixandre, hrg. v. H. Michelant, Bib. d. lit. Vereins in Stuttgart, Bd. XIII, 1846, pp. 8, 311, 394.

Floire and Blanchefleur were already acquainted with Latin and French at the age of five:

En seul cinq ans et quinze dis Furent andoi si bien apris Que bien sorent parler latin.²⁷

They were accustomed to address each other secretly in this language when they wished no one to understand:

L'uns et l'autre son bon disoit En latin, nus ne l'entendoit.²⁸

The maiden Fresne in Galeran, 29 among her other attainments, was able to converse in Latin:

Bien scay lire et bien embriever, Latin parler et harper laiz.

We also learn of a certain knight's son in the *Dis dou leurier*,³⁹ whose instruction was entrusted to a clerk who toiled night and day that his pupil might master the Latin tongue:

Tant s'en pena soir et matin Que moult li aprist dou latin.

Clerks, of course, were supposed to speak Latin, but references to their ability to speak other languages as well are also to be found. In *Ipomedon*,³¹ for example:

Moult me mervail de ces clers sages Ki entendent plusurs langages;

and again, when referring to this hero's master:

Mes Tholomeu estait mult sages Si saveit de plusurs langages.

The knowledge of foreign languages was not confined, however, to the clerks or the well-born. Examples of the ability to speak various tongues are to be found among people from all ranks of life. We learn, for instance, of the "borgeois" who sells Blanche-fleur into slavery and who "sot parler de mains languages." When Guillaume de Nevers in the poem of Flamenca³³ is stopping at a



²⁷ Floire et Blanceflor, p.p. E. du Méril, Paris 1856, p. 12.

²⁸ Op. cit., p. 3.

²⁹ p.p. L. Foulet, Class. fr. du Moyen Age, Paris 1925, v. 7210-1.

³⁰ Gedichte von Jehan de Condet, von A. Tobler, Stuttgart, 1860, v. 74-5.

³¹ Hrg. v. E. Kölbing u. E. Koschwitz, Breslau 1889, v. 21 ff.

³² Flore et Blanceflor, p. 18.

³⁸ p.p. P. Meyer, Paris 1865, v. 1916.

certain hostelry in Bourbon, the landlady is described as a pleasing, intelligent woman, speaking "bergono, frances, e ties et breto." It would seem necessary that an inn-keeper speak various languages and dialects, for later in this poem we are told that many strangers were accustomed to stop at this place, which was renowned for its waters, being frequented by people from France, Burgundy, Flanders, Champagne, Normandy, and Brittany.³⁴ Amusing is the incident of the "borgois" in the fable of the *Prestre et de la Dame*, ³⁵ who, when intoxicated, begins to jabber in foreign tongues:

Lors commence a paller latin Et postroillaz³⁶ et alemant, Et puis tyois et puis flammanc.³⁷

Amusing, likewise, is the description of the Devil in *Dolopathos*, ³⁸ who is said to speak in all languages when circulating in human form: "Diables sait de toz languages," and of the magic bird in *Rigomer*, ³⁹ also able to talk in various tongues: "Parler savoit plusor language."

Mention of the ability to speak English occurs but rarely in these poems. This was found to be true likewise in the chansons de geste. But the accomplished Guillaume de Nevers, who is portrayed as the perfect chevalier, and skilled in the Seven Arts, had learned to speak this language at Paris: "Engleis saup meilz d'autre clergue." Usually the French were inclined to parody the other languages in jeering at those who could speak or attempt to speak their own. The poem of Jehan et Blonde offers abundant evidence to this effect and provides interesting information on the cult of the French language in England during the Middle Ages. Here the poet makes use of inaccuracies of every sort as are common in foreigners speaking an unfamiliar language. Ch. V. Langlois calls our attention to the same situation when he says:

³⁴ Op. cit., v. 3801 ff.

³⁵ Fabliaux des XIIIe et XIVe siècles, vol. 11, p. 328.

^{36 &}quot;Jargon," modern French "baragouin" (Godefroy:1) Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue française.

³⁷ This passage is significant in differentiating as it does the "tyois" from the other German dialects.

³⁸ P.p. C. Brunet et A. de Montaiglon, Paris 1856, p. 416.

³⁹ Hrg. v. W. Foerster, 2 vol., Dresden 1908, v. 11651.

⁴⁰ Floriant et Florete, ed. by Fr. Michel, Edinburgh 1873, v. 1635.

⁴¹ A complete analysis of the situations in this poem involving linguistic difficulties on the part of the English speaking French may be found in J. E. Matzke's article: Some Examples of French as spoken by Englishmen in Old

On sait qu'il existe en France du XIII° siècle, toute une littérature de parodies, destinées à faire rire de la manière dont les Anglais prononçaient alors, la langue d'oïl. Nos ancêtres, comme on le voit à merveille dans Jehan et Blonde dédaignaient ridiculement d'apprendre la langue des étrangers, même lorsqu'ils vivaient chez eux, se moquaient volontiers de l'accent des Anglais.42

As in the chansons de geste, the rule seems rather to have been that the English cultivated the French tongue, a situation which we find at King Arthur's court, where the Queen's attendants are described as speaking this language:

Et s'i fu la reine assanble Mainte bele dame cortoise Bien parlant an langue françoise.⁴³

The actual citation of foreign words within the body of the text is perhaps the most interesting phase of our search. We have already attempted to collect these in the case of the chansons de geste, which included as well the rather copious examples from the works of Wace. It was he more than any of the early poets who relied to any great extent upon the citation of foreign terms to enhance the local color of his scene. Reminiscent of the Roman de Rou, are the English expressions to be found in Eustache le Moine, 41 when this hero, meeting with Romerel in England, cries out: "Vincenesel" in answer to the latter's salutation of "Godehiere." "Godeherre," it will be recalled, occurs in two of the chansons de geste, Aimeri de Narbonne and Doon de Nanteuil. "Vincenesel" is thought by Fr. Michel to be composed of the name of the Spanish saint "Vincence" and "help," although the latter word might more reasonably perhaps be some corruption of the English "hail."

French Literature in Mod. Phil. III, p. 47, where he examines likewise the Fabliau de deux Anglois et de l'anel, and the story of Renart disguised as an English jongleur in the Roman de Renart. A study of this same fabliau has also been made by C. H. Livingston in the Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc., June 1925, p. 217, who says that the caricature of the English was never complete in the eyes of the French without some allusion or parody upon his incorrect and unpleasant manner of speaking French. Cf. also Mittelalterlicher englisch-franzosischen Jargon by H. Albert, Halle Berlin 1922; and Les Anglais d'après les sources françaises, Rev. Hist., 1893, p. 311.

⁴² La Vie en France au Moyen Age, p. 193, note 2. For the cult of French in England in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, cf. Kathleen Lambley: The French Language in England, Manchester, 1920, pp. 3-26.

⁴³ Lancelot, hrg. v. W. Foerster, Halle 1899, v. 39 ff.

⁴⁴ P.p. Fr. Michel, Paris 1834, v. 1931.

⁴⁵ P.p. L. Demaison, Soc. d. anc. textes fr., 2 vol., Paris 1887, v. 1753.

⁴⁶ P.p. P. Meyer, Romania XIII, 1884, v. 61.

⁴⁷ Note, p. 108 in his edition of this poem.

This editor in commenting on the following passage from the same poem:

"Sire, j'ai a non Maupras Englisseman de Canestuet, Ya, ya Codidouet." Dist l'estrumidus: "Tu ies Engles."48

believes the expression "Codidouet" to be a corruption of "God it wot," especially familiar in the works of Chaucer, and he cites other appearances of the same term in "Ia, ia, dist-il, godistouet" in the Roman du Renart, and in "Goditouet, ci a bon vin" in the Bataille des vins. With the expression "goudale," appearing in "Cinq ans ai este este en Irlande, tant ai beu de la goudale," we may compare a passage from Berte aux grands pieds: "Une riviere treuve, qui d'un pendant avale, volontiers en beust, mais trouble ert com godale," and Michel believes this to have been the root of the modern French "godailler." This explanation, while ingenious enough, would be more convincing if substantiated by sufficient examples to prove that "goudale" was in common usage in France at this epoch.

An interesting invocation to the Virgin is to be found in the $Fabliau\ del\ Harpur\ a\ Roucestre$:52

Cil Nostre Dame mult ama, Sovent en harpaunt la loa . . . Sa uswyf l'apella;

and this "uswyf" is repeated in a later passage with additional English words:

A haut voiz cria: "Help uswyf, help uswyf, Oiyer nu I forga mi lyf," En sun engleis issi cria.

the third line of which may perhaps be translated as "Oiye now, I forgoe my life." Echoes of Wace are likewise to be found in Marie de France's derivation of the Breton expression "laustic," which, as she explains, meant "nightingale" in English:

"Laustic" ad nun ceo m'est avis, Si l'apelent en lur pais:

⁴⁸ Op. cit., v. 2197 ff.

⁴⁹ Op. cit., v. 2192.

⁵⁰ P.p. A. Scheler, Bruxelles, 1874, p. 43.

⁵¹ Note, p. 114 of Eustache le Moine.

⁵² P.p. Fr. Michel in notes to Eustache le Moine, p. 108.

Ceo est russignol en Frenceis, E Nihtegale en dreit Engleis.⁵³

and of "chevrefeuille," which:

Gotelef l'apelent Engleis Chievrefueil le nument Franceis.⁵⁴

The word "ethimologie" itself appears in Fauvel, 55 where we read:

Ausi par ethimologie Pues savoir ce qu'il senefie: "Fauvel" est de faus et de vel Compost, quer a son revel Assis sus fausete velee,

which will remind us of a passage from Girart de Rossillon:56

Lelonc celle monteigne est assise Poutieres Par ethymologie puet l'on dire Pautieres Ruar en yver y a trop grant foison de pautes,

so that one learns, not without a certain astonishment, according to A. Thomas,⁵⁷ that this term was already familiar to the poets of the XIIth century.

The citation of German words, though of less frequency, is of unusual interest. In Guillaume de Dole, 58 the Germans at a certain tourney greet each other with the following words: "Wilecome" and "Godehere," which will recall the appearance of the latter expression in the poem already referred to of Eustachele Moine and the two chansons de geste of Aimeri de Narbonne and Doon de Nanteuil.

As for Greek, although a language referred to frequently enough, its exact signification is not always clear, being usually confounded with Arabic or some other pagan tongue. One poem, *Florimont*, however, is copiously interspersed with Greek expressions, of which J. Psichari has made a complete study,⁵⁹ demonstrating that such usage does not reflect a direct influence of the Near East and that this poet was more or less ignorant of classical Greek.

Of all the problems occasioned by the confusion of languages, none becomes more familiar to the reader of the chansons de geste

⁵³ Hrg. v. K. Warnke, Halle 1900, p. 146.

⁵⁴ Op. cit., p. 185.

⁵⁵ P.p. A. Langfors, Soc. d. anc. textes fr., Paris 1919, v. 239 ff.

⁵⁶ P.p. Mignard, Paris, 1858.

⁵⁷ Nouveaux Essais, p. 4.

⁵⁸ P.p. G. Servois, Soc. d. anc. textes fr., Paris 1893, v. 2585.

⁵⁹ Études romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris, Paris 1891, pp. 507-550.

than that involving the services of the interpreter, a figure occupying a conspicuous place in every court and army, subject to perform a variety of duties, and drawn from all walks in life from the humblest to the highest. Although of less frequent appearance in the romans d'aventure, the "latinier" or "drugemant," as he is sometimes called, plays nevertheless an interesting rôle. In Cligès, 60 for example, the Duke of Saxony, in negotiating with his foe must employ an interpreter speaking Greek and German:

Ceste chose li dus porchace Et fet par un suen druguemant Qui gre savoit et alemant, As deus anpereors savoir, Qu'einsi viaut la bataille avoir. Li messagiers fet son message An l'un et an l'autre langage Si bien que l'antandirent tuit.

In the Provençal Guillaume de la Barre, 61 where the conflict between Christians and pagans occupies so large a place, the offices of the interpreter are employed in a great number of cases. In Florence de Rome, 62 the Emperor of Constantinople, in sending forty messengers to Rome to demand in marriage the daughter of the King of Rome, provides them with an interpreter. Later in the same poem, when a spy must be sent to Rome, a man speaking the foreign tongues is the one so chosen:

Ilec ot une espie que de Rome fu nez, Bien entent le langage, bien en fu doctrinez.⁶³

Likewise, in the *Roman de la Manekine*,⁶⁴ when the King of Hungary is in quest of a wife, he selects men speaking many languages as his messengers:

S'ont douze messages ellis, Courtois et sages et apris, Qui pluseurs langages savoient.

In *Alixandre*,⁶⁵ the interpreter is in constant evidence. On two occasions Porrus, the king of India, is obliged to employ such men in communicating with Alexander. In another passage, however,

⁶⁰ Hrg. v. W. Foerster, Halle, 1910, v. 3958 ff.

⁶¹ P.p. P. Meyer, Soc. d. anc. textes fr., Paris, 1895.

⁶² P.p. A. Wallenskold, 2 vol., Soc. d. anc. textes fr., 2 vol., Paris 1907, v. 1014-5.

⁶³ Op. cit., v. 241 ff.

⁶⁴ Op. cit., p. 363.

⁶⁵ Op. cit., p. 311.

we are informed that the former monarch was able to use his native speech, inasmuch as Alexander was a skilful linguist:

Et dist en son latin, que il l'avoit mult cier, Alixandres l'entent sans autre latinier, Quar de tous les langages s'estoit fait doctriner.65

The Emir of Babylon must also have recourse to an interpreter in dealing with Alixander: "un drugeman apele, se li dist son corage," and once, when in dangerous proximity to his adversary, learns his whereabouts from one of these men whom he chances to find in that neighborhood.

Foreign languages, therefore, under the various forms in which cultivated and utilized, play an important rôle, not only in the vast body of the *chansons de geste*, but in these other contemporary narrative poems as well, and apparently represent a serious preoccupation on the part of their authors. We would feel confirmed then in our earlier conclusion, and believe that a constant contact with foreign tongues as well as their extensive cultivation and utilization to be outstanding features in French civilization of the Middle Ages.

⁶⁶ Op. cit., p. 395.

RECONSTRUCTION OF A LOST PLAY¹

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I remember nothing more unconvincing to me in my schoolboy days than the picture of an extinct animal as reconstructed from an unearthed bone. No scientist who drew such a picture would fail to admit some degree of conjecture, some infusion of fancy, as his mastodon or his brontosaurus stood amid the hypothetical scenery. But though inevitably wrong in detail, a consistent deduction of the beast from the bone is admittedly both interesting and scientific.

It is a reconstruction of a lost play from a dozen different clues that I am here attempting; and the play which I hope to restore in its essential outlines is the much coveted Hamlet commonly attributed to Thomas Kyd. More scholars have wished that they might read this play, I suppose, than any other that has been allowed to perish. As the late Dr. Alden said in his book on Shakespeare, we should perhaps rather find the lost Hamlet of Kyd than another play of Shakespeare's own. For there is no more alluring and at times seemingly hopeless task than to resolve the puzzling inconsistencies in Shakespeare's Hamlet; and recent criticism has tended more and more to the conjecture that these inconsistencies are largely due to Shakespeare's having left in his completed drama some features of the old play upon which his was based. If by putting bit and bit together we can make Kyd's Hamlet live for us again, though not as a play at least as a rational description of the play, we shall come a long step nearer, I think, to solving the Hamlet problem.

Of Kyd's lost and longed-for drama we know something, though very little, from contemporary references. I must be pardoned for repeating these familiar allusions. Nashe, in his Preface to Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589, speaks of "English *Seneca*" as affording you "whole Hamlets, I should say handfuls of Tragicall speeches." That Nashe referred to Thomas Kyd seems the natural interpreta-

¹ President's address, Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, November 25, 1927.

tion of the whole passage, and I shall take this as granted—at least for the sake of the argument. We will find every step of our way hotly contested; but where I stand on familiar ground I shall not reopen the problem. So detailed and involved is the controversy over every point that to enter upon a discussion would be to abandon at once the end in view. I am not assuming that the hypotheses on which I build have been established, but if the conclusion that I shall draw from them offers an explanation of all the facts, I shall assume that the postulates on which the conclusion was based are likewise justified.

We have, then, as our first item, that Kyd's Hamlet was in existence in 1589, and that it, like his Spanish Tragedy, was written under the strong influence of Seneca. Of the "handfuls of tragical speeches" we have, perhaps, only two words preserved. In Lodge's Wits Miserie, 1596, we read of "the ghost which cried so miserably at the Theator like an oister wife Hamlet revenge." It is generally considered that the reference was occasioned by a revival of Kyd's tragedy. Henslowe records in his Diary a performance of Hamlet in 1594 by two companies acting together, and with one of them, the Lord Chamberlain's men, Shakespeare was associated. It is therefore quite possible that Shakespeare acted in Kyd's Hamlet.

In November, 1601, Shakespeare's company at the Globe performed Dekker's Satiromastix, in which one of the characters says, "My name's Hamlet Revenge; thou hast been at Paris Garden, hast not?" By this time Shakespeare's first version of his Hamlet had probably been presented; for Harvey's reference to it, as Boas shows in his Shakespeare and the Universities (pp. 256 f), must have been made before the execution of Essex in February, 1601. But it is quite impossible that Shakespeare's tragedy could have

² It is likely enough though by no means certain that Nashe drew from the same play his other quotation, "Blood is a beggar." To Kyd's play also may have belonged the line that Shakespeare's Hamlet shouts at the murderer in the play scene, "The croaking raven doth bellow for revenge." Coming in a prose speech and standing so obviously apart from Hamlet's mode of speaking, it is most naturally explained as a line of the old play which Shakespeare inserted at this point. It has been pointed out that the line must have been written about the same time as The True Tragedy of Richard III, that is, about 1589, because of the obvious influence (one way or the other) shown in two lines of that play:

The screeking Rauen sits croking for reuenge. Whole herds of beasts comes bellowing for reuenge.

Nothing can be deduced as to the date of the surrounding dialogue from a line of this sort.

been thus ridiculed by his own company at his own theater. The words "Hamlet, revenge," which do not occur in Shakespeare's Hamlet, had already been used as a gibe at Kyd's. The natural assumption is that Shakespeare's success led to a revival of the old play. Thus in the dozen years from 1589 to 1601 we find that Kyd's Senecan Hamlet, with its handfuls of tragical speeches and its ghost that cried "Hamlet, revenge," was at least twice revived and three times ridiculed. Beyond these meager facts we know nothing of it.

But everyone knows that the success of Shakespeare's Hamlet led to the publication in 1603 of the famous First Quarto: a mixture of true Shakespearean lines with many faulty approximations and much regular verse by an inferior poet. It was my good fortune to show in a paper on the First Quarto written in 1915 (Modern Language Review) that both the true and the faulty Shakespearean lines were supplied by the actor who took the part of Marcellus, and who appeared also as the Second Player and as a supernumerary in some of the later scenes: the true lines with few exceptions being those of his own rôles and the approximations mostly those of other characters in the scenes in which he appeared. So far as the actor thief is concerned, my theory has won recognition, largely on account of the full and careful study of the subject by Mr. Dover Wilson³; but he, like most others, falls back on the old idea that all the lines and part-lines in Q, that were not derived from Shakespeare belonged to the Hamlet of Kyd. If the regular verse which is not Shakespeare's was taken from the old play, this would put an end to our problem; for we should then have the major portion of Kyd's Hamlet preserved in Q₁, and we should have to relegate Shakespeare to a secondary place in the composition of his masterpiece. I have endeavored to make clear in a recent study of the subject4 that the pedestrian and not at all Senecan verse in the First Quarto suggests Kyd only as the work of a late and imitative writer, familiar, as all men were, with The Spanish Tragedy, might suggest him, and that the scenes in question give every indication of being based upon Shakespeare's and

^{3 &}quot;The Copy for Shakespeare's Hamlet, 1603," and "The Hamlet Transcript, 1593," Library, 1918. Reprinted in booklet form. Mr. Wilson notes that the small part of Voltimand is correctly given, a fact which was pointed out by W. H. Widgery in 1880 and R. G. White in 1881. I have shown elsewhere (PMLA, Sept. 1927) why the actor thief could not have taken this additional rôle.

⁴ PMLA, September, 1927.

of being the work of a very minor hack dramatist of the time. Unless the facts presented in my recent article can be accounted for on some other basis, we must consider that the First Quarto is merely a misrepresentation of Shakespeare's play as it appeared in 1600-01, and that it is thus twice removed from the *Hamlet* of Kyd.

When Shakespeare's Hamlet as we know it was published in the Second Quarto in 1604, it contained some divergences from his play of 1601. The name of Corambis is changed to Polonius; the Queen does not repent and offer to aid Hamlet in his revenge; it is probable that the order of some of the scenes was shifted, and the play, especially in the later acts, considerably lengthened. So far as the actor thief reported the play, the two versions were apparently identical; but the changes I have indicated, with some others of less moment, indicate that some revision was made.

It was, I believe, after Shakespeare's first version of Hamlet and before his second, that is, about 1602, that a group of English actors appeared in Germany and gave, among other plays, a production of Hamlet. This crude drama is preserved in a manuscript dated 1710, and contains some matter which is obviously of German origin; but it tells the Hamlet story with many distinct echoes of Shakespeare's tragedy. I shall refer to this German play, Der Bestrafte Brudermord, by the translated title, Fratricide Punished. The play has been discussed in minute detail by many able scholars, and every possible theory as to its origin has been advocated. I must hold with those who, like Serrazin, believe the play to be a debased version of Shakespeare's Hamlet, but the Prologue to be Kyd's.⁵

It has been frequently pointed out that the Prologue in the German play is a set, literary production, whereas the play itself consists of utterly commonplace lines in which Shakespearean phrases are incorporated. It has been noted, also, that its "harsh, un-German constructions" indicate a translation, not an original German composition; and that it contains a striking parallel to



⁵ I accept the position of Tanger, Furnivall, Dowden, and others, that it was Shakespeare's first version of his tragedy that the English actors knew. I think it unnecessary to suppose, with Creizenich, an intermediate version, or with Boas some additions by actors who were familiar with the final form of the play, to account for departures from Q₁ and similarities to Q₂; for as soon as one accepts the actor thief and revising dramatist origin of the First Quarto both of these suppositions become quite needless.

⁶ Bernhardy, quoted by Furness.

The Spanish Tragedy. Most significant of all, it has been observed that the Prologue promises a very different story from that told by Shakespeare and repeated in the Fratricide Punished. I suggest that the English actors put down from memory what they could of Shakespeare's Hamlet in order to give a performance of it; and that one member of this group was the actor who in 1601 had played the part of Night in Kyd's Hamlet. If this was indeed the case, he would be able to supply the Prologue substantially or quite as Kyd wrote it. In working with his friends as they put the play together, this man would be able to suggest certain things from Kyd's tragedy; and wherever we have, in the Fratricide Punished, a phrase or situation that strongly suggests Kyd, we may account for it as due to this collaborator.

It is only because of the contrast in style between the Prologue and the play—a contrast which the presence of the Night actor would explain—and because it has been assumed that Kvd's drama was identical with Shakespeare's throughout the entire plot, that anyone has been able to doubt that the Fratricide Punished Prologue came directly from Kyd. It is eminently characteristic of his genius. In the Prologue to The Spanish Tragedy Kyd provided a Ghost and an allegorical character, Revenge. In Hamlet the Ghost is moved into the body of the play and the allegorical character, Night, is the dominating force. At her service are three Furies, carefully named with that display of classical learning to which Kyd was prone. In the Prologue of Soliman and Perseda, the only other original play which we may with any certainty attribute to Kyd, Love, Fortune, and Death dispute for the right to serve as Chorus. In all three instances we find that kinship of genius which is so much better an indication of identity of authorship than ver-And, as noted above, the verbal repetitions are bal repetitions. here also.

Since there is every reason for believing that we have a German translation of the Prologue of Kyd's *Hamlet*, and some fragments of the play itself, our task of reconstruction is no longer hopeless. We may with confidence assign to Kyd whatever there is in the *Fratricide Punished* that is not derived from Shakespeare and clearly not due to the German redactor of the play. Let us piece together the fragments thus secured. And first, let us have the

⁷ Evans, M. B., Der Bestrafte Brudermord, page 22.

Prologue. I give it in the translation by Furness, to whom I shall be indebted also for quotations from the play:

PROLOGUE

Night (from above). I am dark Night, which sends all things to sleep, I am the wife of Morpheus, the time for vicious pleasure, I am the guardian of thieves, and the protector of lovers; I am dark Night, and have it in my might To practice evil, to afflict mankind. My mantle covers the shame and rest of the harlot. Before Phoebus shall shine I will begin a game. Ye children of my breast, and daughters of my lust,
Ye Furies, up, up! come forth and show yourselves!
Come, hearken attentively to what will soon take place.

Alec. What says dark Night, the queen of quiet?
What new work does she propose? what is her wish and will?

Maeg. From Acheron's dark pit come I, Maegera, hither,
From thee, thou mother of evil, to hear thy desire.

This And I. This inhome, what heat they to the fore? Say This. And I, Thisiphone: what hast thou to the fore? Say on,

Thou black Hecate, whether I can serve thee.

Night. Listen, ye Furies all three,—listen, ye children of darkness and mothers of all misfortune; listen to your poppy-crowned Queen of the Night, the patroness of thieves and robbers, the friend and light of the incendiary, the lover of stolen goods, the dearly loved goddess of unlawful love,—how often are my altars honored by it! During this night and the coming morrow must ye stand by me, for it is the King of this land who burns with love for the wife of his brother, whom for her sake he has murdered, that he may possess both her and the kingdom. Now is the hour at hand when they lie together. I will throw my mantle over them so that neither may see their sin. Therefore be ready to sow the seeds of disunion, mingle poison with their marriage, and put jealousy in their hearts. Kindle a fire of revenge, and their marriage, and put jeanousy in their hearts. Alinde a life of revenge, and let the sparks fly over the whole realm; entangle kinsmen in the net of crime, and give joy to hell, so that those who swim in the sea of murder may soon drown. Begone, hasten, and fulfill my command.

This. I have already heard enough, and will soon perform

More than dark Night can of herself imagine.

Maeg. Pluto himself shall not prompt me to so much

As shortly I shall be seen performing.

Alec. I fan the sparks and make the fire burn;

Ere it dawns the second time, the whole game I'll shiver.

Night. Then haste; while I ascend make good your work.

(Ascends. Music.)

First of all, we note that the Furies are to sew seeds of dissention and poison the marriage of the King and Queen, putting jealousy Of this we have no trace in Shakespeare except in their hearts. that in the 1601 version the Queen repents and offers to aid Hamlet in his revenge. She does not do so; and when he came to make his final revision Shakespeare accordingly omitted this unnecessary and misleading detail. In Kyd's play, the Queen's going over to Hamlet's side would be quite in line with what the Prologue promises; but it must have led to some development of the plot which has been omitted by Shakespeare. The second mission of the Furies is to kindle a fire of revenge over the whole realm. They were finally to "entangle kinsmen in the net of crime." In the end, of course, a wholesale retribution was to come. Here is a bill of fare which the audiences that rejoiced in the stirring horrors of *The Spanish Tragedy* might well anticipate with pleasure.

Shakespeare has nothing of this fire of revenge over the whole realm, which I take it must have been an essential part of Kyd's tragedy. But there is, I think, a very distinct indication that when he began his task of rewriting Kyd's play he had no intention of departing so widely from his source. This point is of primary importance, and explains, I think, one of the most puzzling problems in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. I must ask you to consider it with particular care.

The opening scene of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* takes place, as we are twice told, upon the "platform"—a level place for the mounting of guns. The Ghost of the dead king appears in armor, and goes by with "martial stalk." Horatio remarks,

Such was the very armour he had on When he the ambitious Norway combated.

Marcellus then asks why Denmark is now in intensive preparation for war, and Horatio gives in answer an elaborate account of the fight between the late King Hamlet and King Fortinbras of Norway, as a result of which Fortinbras lost "all those his lands which he stood seiz'd on''—that is, possessed of—to King Hamlet of Denmark. Horatio then continues with the information that Young Fortinbras, the son of the slain king, has raised an army to recover his lands by war; and this, it is assumed, is the meaning of Denmark's present preparation and of the appearance in armor of the ghost of the late king "that was and is the question of these wars." In writing the next scene, however, Shakespeare seems to have changed his mind, determining to leave out of his play the whole matter for which the Ghost in armor and the elaborate speech of Horatio had prepared us. Accordingly, he abruptly introduces Voltimand and Cornelius and has Claudius send them as ambassadors to an uncle of Young Fortinbras; for it now appears that Norway had not been forfeited after all but has an independent king, a brother instead of the son of the late King Fortinbras. In II, ii, the ambassadors return with the news that this uncle has called off the war against Denmark and sent Young Fortinbras on an expedition against the Poles. As Polonius thereupon remarks, "This business is well ended."

If one will face the matter squarely he will see that Shakespeare's shift in the second scene from a political to a more personal type of play is not a fanciful invention but a palpable fact. The scene opens with Claudius addressing the court regarding the present situation. After speaking of his marriage, he tells of the demands of Fortinbras for the surrender of the lands that his father had lost, and apparently concludes this matter by saying, "So much for him." But instead of dismissing the subject and turning to Laertes, Claudius continues, rather awkwardly:

[Enter Voltimand and Cornelius.]
Now for ourself and for this time of meeting.
Thus much the business is: we have here writ
To Norway, uncle of young Fortinbras,
Who, impotent and bed-rid, scarcely hears
Of this his nephew's purpose—

and so on. The passage has every appearance of being added by Shakespeare in order to get away from the situation as he had it without throwing away the lines he had already written.8 I take it that Shakespeare deliberately shunted off the military conflict which, in his drama as it stands, there was no need of introducing at all: and that he retained Horatio's recital merely to separate the two appearances of the Ghost. It was eminently characteristic of Shakespeare to retain what he had written, knowing that it was good and would act well. All that is reasonably certain is that Horatio's speech is not what Shakespeare would have written if he had then considered that nothing more was to be made of it. He was not so bad a dramatist as that. He gives no such specific and extended mislead in any other play. I submit that the Ghost of King Hamlet in the armor he had on when he fought against Norway, and the threatened invasion of Fortinbras to recover the crown of Norway were introduced by Shakespeare while he still intended to follow Kyd's plot, in which they were entirely appropriate. The story of Kyd's Hamlet was therefore the story of Hamlet's revenge attempted by force of arms.

⁸ A slight indication of his change of tactics is perhaps also to be found in a line of Horatio to Hamlet in this scene. Horatio after seeing the Ghost had said, "So frowned he once when in an angry parle..." but when Hamlet asks, "What, looked he frowningly?" Horatio now replies, contradicting himself, "A countenance more in sorrow than in anger." The martial Ghost, frowning in anger, was appropriate for a play dealing with a clash of arms, in which the revenge of Hamlet was to be a dominating passion. A pale and sorrowful Ghost that fixed its eyes most constantly upon Horatio and later beckoned Hamlet with courteous actions to a more removed ground, was appropriate for the play as Shakespeare finally conceived it.



The reason why Shakespeare abandoned the Fortinbras invasion in his Hamlet must have been because he determined upon a central motif of a very different sort from Kyd's. Apparently Kyd provided him with a Hamlet whose father's Ghost called upon him to revenge his murder; who doubted the truth of this revelation as Hieronimo doubted Bel-Imperia's letter; who satisfied himself and exposed the guilt of the King before the whole court by means of the play within the play; who had a soliloguy in which he, like Hieronimo, rebuked himself for his delay. If there was a fire of revenge throughout the whole realm following upon the King's self-betrayal in the play scene, and if there was also an armed invasion under Fortinbras, Kyd would almost of necessity have combined these two features in a single action. The Ghost in armor would be a symbol to young Hamlet.

But Shakespeare, pondering over why it is that these Hieronimos and Hamlets do not act, why it is that so often we delay when our duty lies straight before us, how it is, particularly, that a Hamlet will be held back from such an action as the murder of his king and uncle though he acknowledges no reason sufficient for his not performing his mission, threw out from his drama everything that interfered with this new and engrossing theme. Accordingly, he carefully avoided putting any external obstacles in Hamlet's way, which he would inevitably have mentioned if he had intended them to be present. But he was rewriting a play in which those obstacles were present, for present they clearly were in Kyd's Hamlet. The proof of it, if proof were needed in the case of Kyd, is that we have the missing references in Fratricide Punished. The matter is referred to five times in the German play. The omission of all these must have been deliberate, intentional.

At the end of Shakespeare's play, Hamlet says,

I cannot live to hear the news from England, But I do prophesy the election lights On Fortinbras. He has my dying voice.

Of such an election Shakespeare gives us elsewhere not the faintest hint, nor any reason why Fortinbras should succeed to the throne of Denmark other than his unaccountable line, "I have some rights of memory in this kingdom." Again we must consider that we have here a relic of Kyd's play; and again we find that the missing clue is supplied in the *Fratricide Punished*. In I, 4, of the German

piece Hamlet says to Horatio, "While I was in Germany, he [the King | got himself quickly crowned, but with a show of right made me king of Norway, and appealed to an election of the states." In I, 7, the King says to Hamlet, "Stay with us at court, or, if not, you can betake yourself to your kingdom Norway." And in the final scene Hamlet sends the crown "to Norway to my cousin Fortempras." In the last chapter of Belleforest the relationship of Hamlet and Fortinbras is mentioned. All of these references to Norway must have come from Kyd's drama, since they are not in Shakespeare and are not of a sort that could be due to the German adapter. No one will suppose that the maker of the German play looked into Belleforest. The situation in Kyd's drama was therefore in accord with what we find in Shakespeare's opening scene: that the crown of Norway had been forfeited to Denmark. It is out of accord with the second scene, in which Shakespeare shunted off this whole matter of the threatened invasion, and determined instead to tell the story of Hamlet's delay.

We have now enough elements of Kyd's Hamlet to venture a conjecture as to the use he made of them. We have Fortinbras ready with an army to fight against the King of Denmark; we have his cousin Hamlet as king of Norway, and therefore the rightful commander of this army, with an equal cause for hostility against King Claudius; we have a fire of revenge sweeping over the whole realm; we have Hamlet, when about to die, sending the crown "to Norway to my cousin Fortinbras." The implication seems to be that in Kyd's drama Hamlet had made common cause with his cousin. But if Hamlet and Fortinbras joined forces and an actual battle took place, it must have resulted in a victory for Claudius, with Fortinbras escaping to Norway and Hamlet captured.

If there was not such a battle (reported in a long Senecan narration) in Kyd's *Hamlet*, it is difficult to account for the facts we have. For what did become of the threatened invasion in Kyd's play? And why should Kyd's Hamlet have sent the crown to a rebel claimant of his kingdom of Norway? Shakespeare's Ophelia speaks of Hamlet as a soldier, and Fortinbras orders his funeral with military honors. These also may be survivals from Kyd's tragedy.

Our belief that some of the difficulties in Shakespeare's Hamlet are due to the use he made of Kyd's drama, and that the Fratricide Punished may throw light upon them, will be strengthened

if we find additional evidence of this. It has frequently been noticed that Shakespeare represents Ophelia's death as accidental in IV, 2, and as suicidal in V, 1; that in Fratricide Punished Ophelia is not accidentally drowned, as in Shakespeare, but throws herself down from a hilltop; and that such a suicide recalls that of the bashaw in The Spanish Tragedy. Again it would seem that Shakespeare followed Kyd where he found interesting and dramatic material, and supplied new scenes of his own when, for one reason or another, he chose to depart from his source; and that he cared for effectiveness on the stage rather than for exactitude and consistency. We may well be thankful that he did not bother with details that have bothered so many of his critics, but saved his creative energy for writing other great dramas, and meantime bridged the discrepancy between Ophelia's manner of death and her burial with the satisfying logic of the First Gravedigger.

But in following Kyd in the matter of Hamlet's assumed madness. Shakespeare got himself into a difficulty which he could not resolve so easily. In Kyd's source, Belleforest, Hamlet's life is in danger from the tyranny of his uncle, and the author applauds his clever ruse of pretending to be simple-minded in order to avoid suspicion. In Fratricide Punished I, 6, and II, 5, Hamlet definitely states that he hopes to find an opportunity for revenge by means of his disguise of madness. But Shakespeare's Hamlet can have access to the King at any moment. Claudius is not tyrannical to him but most friendly, giving him the freedom of the court ("Be as ourself in Denmark''), and treating him until the play scene with apparent (perhaps with real) affection. It is not because Claudius is guarded but because he is not, that Hamlet is powerless to act, and we respect him the more for it. When he returns from the pirate adventure the first thing he does is to warn the King and put him on his guard. His uncle's friendly manner is one of the things that makes Hamlet's task so extraordinarily difficult. This explains one of the most puzzling lines in the whole drama. After the Ghost's revelation, Hamlet resolves to put out of his mind all other considerations, and then continues-most strangely-

> My tables: meet it is I set it down— That one may smile and smile and be a villain.

And, writing that, he comments,

So, Uncle, there you are.

However affable he is, the King is a villain: that is the one thing, the only thing he must remember. The King is too approachable and too defenceless for Hamlet to stick him like a pig. By appearing mad, as it has often been remarked, he accomplishes nothing. He merely arouses the King's suspicion, gets himself spied upon, and finally furnishes Claudius with an excuse for sending him out of the kingdom. In like manner, by the play within the play Hamlet only informs his uncle that he knows about the murder, and thus gets himself sent to England with the secret message to have him put to death. His casual excuse for giving the play, that the Ghost may have deceived him, looks like an after-thought; his previous verdict had been, "It is an honest Ghost, that let me tell you." At the play he declines the Queen's invitation to sit by her, where he would have every opportunity to kill the King at the proper moment. It is going too far to say that Shakespeare represented Hamlet as assuming madness and as giving the Gonzago play instinctively to rear obstacles in his own way, to give himself always something to do which was not THE thing. Nor can we say that when Hamlet returned from the pirate adventure he informed the King at once in order to prevent himself from being able to surprise and kill him. This would be to force an interpretation upon the events which would not be obvious to an Elizabethan (nor to any other) audience. On the other hand, to invent motives for Hamlet, such as his wishing to arrange the murder in such a way as to satisfy the good people of Denmark, is also to step outside of the play, away from the reaction of any audience, and hence is equally unwarranted. No audience ever supposed that Hamlet was prevented from killing the King by considerations of this sort.

What, then, shall be conclude? This, merely: that the assumed madness and the play within the play were striking theatrical features in Kyd's Hamlet; but that Shakespeare could not retain them with Kyd's motivation of them unless he abandoned his own central idea—that Hamlet did not act because something in his own nature prevented him. Shakespeare had either to sacrifice all the dramatic opportunities contained in Hamlet's assumption of madness, his scenes with the Players and the play scene itself, or else show us a Hamlet who would do what Hamlet does though it is not a logical and orderly campaign for the accomplishment of his revenge. He chose to show Hamlet in his first soliloquy in

such an emotional turmoil that a smugly consistent course of action could not be expected of him. And the audience never questions that Hamlet would do what he does; never loses respect for him and the keenest sympathy with him as he drives himself forward toward the task that he cannot quite perform.

Let us now return to the *Fratricide Punished* for other suggestions for the building up of Kyd's *Hamlet*. Act V of the German piece begins with the following soliloquy:

Ham. Unfortunate Prince! how much longer must thou live without peace? How long dost thou delay, O righteous Nemesis! before thou whettest thy righteous sword of vengeance for my uncle, the fratricide? Hither have I come once more, but cannot attain to my revenge, because the fratricide is surrounded all the time by so many people. But I swear that, before the sun has finished his journey from east to west, I will revenge myself on him.

There is nothing in this that could have come from any of the soliloquies of Shakespeare's Hamlet; its references to Nemesis and to the King's guards give it at once to Kyd, and its echo of the Prologue (where it is twice stated) that retribution will overtake the King before the day is over-confirms this. However improbable in actuality that all the events in the drama could be crowded into a single day, Kyd's tragedy purported to observe the unity Apparently Kyd strove to be more strictly classical in his Hamlet than in his Spanish Tragedy. Here was a swiftness of revenge that would have robbed Shakespeare's critics of many volumes of comment if Shakespeare had followed his source! But at least two months elapsed before the play scene, and an undetermined time after that before Shakespeare's Hamlet swept to his revenge.¹⁰ We know, however, from this soliloquy, that Kyd provided Shakespeare with a Hamlet who reproached himself for his delay. Brief as the soliloguy is in the German piece, we cannot assume that the original was less long and Senecan than the soliloquies of Hieronimo.

That Hamlet killed Corambus in Kyd's tragedy is shown, as Creizenach says, by a line in *Fratricide Punished*. Hamlet's "Are all the doors shut fast?" is not in Shakespeare, but is in Kyd's



⁹ With the necessity for assuming madness goes also Hamlet's swearing his friends to secrecy—well motivated by Kyd but not by Shakespeare. From his source, therefore, Shakespeare took the curious scene of the Ghost echoing the command to swear. The "hic et ubique" seems especially like a quotation from Kyd's Hamlet.

¹⁰ Time enough, however, for Fortinbras to have conducted a campaign against Poland and to have returned as victor.

source, Belleforest. It must therefore have come into the German play from Kyd. Another of Hamlet's lines in *Fratricide Punished*, "Send me to Portugal, so that I may never come back," refers, says Latham, to the disastrous expedition of 1589. As it does not come from Shakespeare and would not be an invention of the German adapter, we may assume that Kyd's play contained a scene in which the King sent Hamlet to England, which, on other grounds as well, is scarcely open to doubt.¹¹

The Fratricide Punished contains a considerable amount of horseplay: the Ghost cuffing the sentinels, the mad Ophelia pursuing the clown Phantasmo. The padding must either have been done by the German author who put the piece into the shape in which we have it; or else we must suppose that Kyd's Hamlet, like his Soliman and Perseda perhaps, and like Marlowe's Doctor Faustus certainly, suffered comic accretions for a later revival. In either case we cannot put the blame for them on Kyd. But in one other episode the German play departs from Shakespeare's story. two attendants who are sent with Hamlet to England become "banditti," and in a scene on an island they shoot each other while Hamlet falls down between them. The source of this incident has been traced to Hans Sachs, and this scene may therefore be the work of the German author. The story was probably current; a variation of it occurs in Baron Munchausen, which draws most of its material from old German sources. On the other hand, the general tone of the incident is not impossible to the author of the Pedrigano sub-story in The Spanish Tragedy. We must leave the point open. It seems to me rather more likely that Kyd followed Belleforest in having the commission altered which sent the two attendants to their death in England. If not, this is the only instance where Shakespeare would clearly have gone back of Kyd to his source in The Historie of Hamblet. As Kyd planned his action to occupy but a single day, he could not have followed Belleforest in taking Hamlet to England, but must have had him immediately return from the island or else had him meet Fortinbras and his army before leaving Denmark at all. Shakespeare has Hamlet come upon this army, but only to draw a new incentive

¹¹ I am inclined to think that "When Marcus Russig was an actor in Rome" is to be explained as an attempt by an ignorant actor to give Russig a Roman sound by putting Marcus before it. In the Osric-Phantasmo bit also referred to by Latham we cannot be sure that the 1601 version was not quite as near to Juvenal as the German play.



to proceed with his revenge. Kyd obviously could not have treated the matter in this fashion, but must have used the army of Fortinbras after his own manner and according to the needs of his own revenge plot.

There are many indications that the ending of the German play was derived from Kyd's Hamlet and not Shakespeare's. Crowded into the brief space after Hamlet kills the King there occur four of the six parallels given by Professor Evans which seem to me sufficiently close to be significant.¹² As it is important to establish the fact that we have in Fratricide Punished a close reproduction of the conclusion of Kyd's Hamlet, I quote these four parallels, substituting the translation of Furness for the German text.

Frat. Pun. And thou, tyrant, shalt bear her company in death. (Hamlet stabs him from behind. Sol. & Pers. Villain, thy brothers gone do call for thee,

(Then Soliman kills Amurath. To wander with them through eternal night.

Frat. Pun. Oh woe! I receive my evil reward. Sol. & Pers. There's a reward for all thy treasons past. (Then Perseda kills Lucina.

I am growing very faint; my limbs grow weak . . . I feel the poison in all my limbs.

For now I feel the poison 'gins to work, Frat. Pun.

Sol. & Pers. And I am weak even to the very death . . . The poison is dispersed through every vein.

Frat. Pun. In no age of the world could such a lamentable tragedy ever have happened as has now, alas!

been enacted at this court.

Sp. Tr. What age hath ever heard such monstrous deeds?

We need no parallel to be convinced that we are indebted to Kyd for Hamlet's sentiment, "Now is my soul at rest, now that I have revenged myself on my enemies!" The play ends with four lines of verse; and the sententious maxim of the last line,

For as the labor is, so follows the reward,

occurs also in the dying oration of Hamlet just before. This oration, indicative of a Senecan original, is interrupted midway by Hamlet's killing another of the characters, Phantasmo,—an un-Shakespearean feature that is noticed by Evans as characteristic of Kyd. The speech ends with Hamlet sending the crown to Norway, to his cousin Fortinbras, which we have already seen is surely derived from Kyd; and Horatio repeats this Norway reference.

¹² The other 2 are to the verse tags at the end of the first 2 acts.

With so many indications of Kyd and none of Shakespeare, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that we have here a close reproduction of the concluding lines of Kyd's Hamlet. Someone who was familiar with this final scene and who knew very little about the rest of the play must, I think, have provided the material; and I suggest again the actor who played Night in the Prologue. It is clear that this actor could have taken no part of any consequence in the play, for there is nothing in the play of a corresponding flavor, except the eight lines of verse. But he would almost inevitably have been used as an "extra" in the crowd scenes where every available man was pressed into service to help fill up the stage. Therefore it is entirely in accordance with what we should expect that we find him present in this concluding scene.¹³

If, then, the ending of the German play came directly from Kyd, Horatio's speech after the death of Hamlet is for our purposes most significant. "Alas!" says Horatio, "what has not this kingdom suffered for ever so long from hard wars? Scarcely is there peace but internal disturbance, ambition, faction, and murder fill the land anew." This tells us clearly enough that the play of which it originally formed a part was concerned with "hard wars... internal disturbance, ambition, faction, and murder." In other words, it was a play that contained the very matters promised in Kyd's Prologue. All these military matters could scarcely have been introduced in a play about Hamlet's revenge unless Hamlet himself was concerned in them. That would indeed have been a

Come, let us, arm in arm and hand in hand, Enjoy the pledge that love and rest demand."

Professors Evans offers two parallels:

Sp. Tr. Come, Bel-imperia, let us to the bower,
And there in safety pass a pleasant hour.

Sol. & Pers. As fits the time, so now well fits the place
To cool affection with our swords and looks,
If in our thoughts be semblant sympathy.

That the Prologue did not go with the play from which the German piece was chiefly derived seems to me proved beyond peradventure by the fact that the two do not accord. But from such evidence as I have now submitted it seems reasonably clear that it was derived from the source from which these passages came; and I see no way of accounting for both other than by the actor I have suggested.

¹³ The only other scene in which the full strength of the company would be required is, so far as we can judge, the first court scene (Shakespeare's I, 2). Compare with the Prologue the closing lines of that scene as we have it in *Fratricide Punished*. The King says: "For the present, however, we will make an end of our festivities, for the day is dawning to put to flight black night. You, however, dearest consort, I shall accompany to your bed-chamber.

Hamlet with Hamlet left out! It becomes increasingly difficult to conceive of Kyd's tragedy without a Senecan narration of a culminating battle. If we had then the re-entrance of Laertes with Hamlet prisoner, the duel between the two could thereupon be arranged. Such a treatment of the matter would be strictly in line with Kyd's method as we see it in his companion play, The Spanish Tragedy.

For the correspondence between the two plays is one not of exact repetition but of exact reversal. In *The Spanish Tragedy* a father revenges the murder of his son; in *Hamlet*, a son the father's. Hieronimo's madness is real; Hamlet's assumed. The Ghost appears to Hamlet and other characters in the drama itself; in *The Spanish Tragedy* it appears only to the audience and is removed wholly from the action of the piece. The enclosed play serves a different purpose in the two dramas and is differently placed; in one case, it is given by a company of traveling players and in the other by the characters themselves. *The Spanish Tragedy* traces the course of events which follow from a battle; *Hamlet* begins with the battle impending, and naturally should lead up to the actual conflict at the end of the play.¹⁴

I now offer, as a reconstruction of Kyd's Hamlet, the Belleforest story insofar as it was apparently followed, arranging it in scenes to correspond to the scenes of The Spanish Tragedy, and including the deductions which I have already made. I am well aware that an exact correspondence between the two plays is practically impossible, and that some rearrangement of the Hamlet scenes in the direction of Shakespeare's sequence is to be taken for granted. But we shall be true to the genius of Kyd if we first set the scenes in this order, and then see what change is called for.

Prologue, substantially as in Fratricide Punished.

1. On the "platform" in front of the castle. The Ghost appears to the sentinels and to Horatio. Horatio, a gentleman who has been "nourished" by the late king and who is a close friend to Hamlet, recounts in a Senecan narration how Norway has been forfeited to Denmark and Fortinbras is try-

¹⁴ There is a contrast throughout in the age and rank and interrelationship of the leading characters. As Kyd followed his source in so many details, it becomes difficult to believe that he had reversed the situation with such minuteness before he had written his Hamlet. It would be more natural to suppose that the reversal was made in The Spanish Tragedy. There are other reasons for believing Hamlet the earlier piece. It was more strictly classical (in observing the unity of time), apparently more Senecan and more crude in its execution. The Portugal reference of 1589 is of the sort that could be written in for a revival after the success of The Spanish Tragedy called attention once more to the similar and earlier Hamlet.

ing to regain his kingdom. Hence the country is now in active preparation for the expected battle.

- 2. Subplot, corresponding to the Villuppo story, not in *Hamlet*, unless the Prologue promise of ''entangle kinsmen in the net of crime'' was here introduced. Compare the episode of Soliman's brothers in *Soliman and Perseda*. The second scene apparently began as in Shakespeare with the King's speech from the throne.
- 3-5. Hamlet and Ophelia make love to each other in euphuistic couplets. It appears that Hamlet is a youth of over-great melancholy. Laertes finds the lovers and warns his sister against Hamlet. Laertes (or Corambus) reports Hamlet's love to the King, who is suspicious of Hamlet and believes that he has some dangerous secret. He determines to employ this "fair and beautiful woman" to discover the secret, but the plan fails.
 - 6. Fortinbras sends ambassadors demanding the surrender of Norway.
- 7. The Ghost tells Hamlet how he was murdered and calls for revenge. After this ultra-Senecan narration, Hamlet tells Horatio and one of the sentinels about it, but explains that he cannot at once accomplish his purpose because "the tyrant is always surrounded by so many people." Moreover, Hamlet has been warned by Ophelia that the King is suspicious of him and that his life is in danger. So Hamlet swears his friends to be secret while he assumes a disguise of innocent madness. The Ghost under the stage (hic et ubique) echoes the demand to swear.
 - 8. Subplot ended.
- 9. Hamlet in soliloquy doubts the Ghost's revelation. Some Players arrive, and Hamlet plans to give the play which will resolve his doubts. The King tells Hamlet that he can remain at court, or that he can betake himself to his kingdom, Norway. For, as Hamlet explains to Horatio, the King had got himself quickly crowned while Hamlet was absent in Germany, but, with a show of right, had made him king of Norway and appealed to an election of the States. This election is to be held in England, which is friendly to Denmark.
- 10-13. Corambus sub-story. Having failed with Ophelia, the King again determines to discover Hamlet's secret, making use of a plot. This time it is the old courtier, Corambus, who suggests that he will hide behind the arras and overhear Hamlet in private talk with his mother. He hides. But Hamlet, still feigning madness, suspects a plot, discovers Corambus, and stabs him through the hangings. The King inquires of Hamlet what has become of Corambus. Hamlet, carrying on his disguise of madness, answers in a tone of facetious vulgarity.
- 14. The play is given. By the King's conduct, Hamlet's belief in his guilt is fully confirmed, and he tells Horatio that he can now "go on boldly with his revenge."
 - 15. Ophelia goes mad.
- 16-19. The Queen repents and goes over to Hamlet's side. She quarrels with the King, now that their secret crime is known to the whole court, and a fire of revenge is sweeping over the realm. Dissention and jealousy creep in. In order to aid Hamlet, she persuades the King to have Hamlet sent to England instead of being put to death (?) 15 but the King arranges with two gentlemen to attend him. They are to take letters instructing the king of England to put Hamlet to death. The King tells Hamlet he is to go to England; and Hamlet suggests that he should be sent to Portugal, for under his mad appearance he divines the danger.
- 20. The Queen, on Hamlet's advice, regains the King's confidence and learns the truth about the letters. This she reveals to Hamlet, and gives him the royal signet so that he may alter the message (?)16

¹⁵ Compare Belleforest, Chapter IV, opening paragraph.

¹⁶ Or else the scene in which Hamlet tricks the two attendants into shooting each other while he falls down between them. It is more than a little curious that Hamlet should have in his purse his father's signet "which was the

21. The ambassadors return to Fortinbras with the King's refusal to

surrender Norway. Fortinbras resolves to give battle at once.

22. Hamlet reproaches himself for his delay in a long, Senecan soliloquy. He tells Horatio of how he fixed the letters and sent the attendants to be hanged in England. Horatio reports that many men are calling for vengeance on the king and wish to put Hamlet on the throne. They are going over to Fortinbras in great numbers. Fortinbras enters with his army, and Hamlet joins with him.

23. Ophelia commits suicide.

24. A Senecan recital of the battle, describing Hamlet's bravery and brilliant deeds, but final capture. Fortinbras was defeated but escaped back to Norway. Laertes enters with Hamlet prisoner, and a duel is arranged between them. Laertes gives Hamlet a death wound. Hamlet kills Laertes, a courtier, and the King. He has a long speech in which he recounts the whole situation and names Fortinbras as his successor. Horatio moralizes in conclusion.

This at least expresses the general movement and motivation of the drama upon which Shakespeare built his Hamlet. It is to be remembered that The Spanish Tragedy was tremendously successful and that Shakespeare's Hamlet is perhaps the most effective drama that has ever been put upon the stage; while Kyd's Hamlet was a subject of ridicule. To arrange the scenes of this play, therefore, so that they correspond as closely as possible to Kyd's masterpiece is probably to flatter his less successful venture; and to consider that Kyd's tragedy approximated Shakespeare's even in its technique of construction is to run counter to the evidence furnished by its history on the stage. We are not warranted in supposing that Kyd's Hamlet was more like Shakespeare's than is indicated by the synopsis I have offered; and though that synopsis is unquestionably wrong in detail, I maintain that it represents the kind of play that Kyd's Hamlet must have been.

We have, then, abundant indications that Kyd's *Hamlet* was essentially different from Shakespeare's in many details of the story, though not so different but that Shakespeare's first and final scenes could be derived directly from it.¹⁷ Kyd furnished Shake-

model of that Danish seal." If Shakespeare at one time planned that the Queen should assist Hamlet in his revenge, she may have sealed the commission which sent Rosencrantz and Guildenstein to their fate. At the end of the play Horatio tells the English ambassadors that Hamlet "never gave commandment for their death." It may well be that this was not a lie when Shakespeare wrote it, and only became one as he worked his play over. Shakespeare might leave such a line, just as he left the Fortinbras speech in Act I, but it is difficult to believe that he would have invented such a needless and obvious falsehood for Horatio. This suggestion is offered merely as indicating a possible means by which the Queen might have aided Hamlet before Shakespeare had abandoned Kyd's plot.

¹⁷ Shakespeare frequently returns to his source in bringing a play to its conclusion, and more than once he seems to manifest considerable indifference as to the consistency of the ending. His interest has been elsewhither, and

speare also, the evidence shows, with a play within the play, Hamlet's madness and Ophelia's, the Ghost's revelation and call for revenge, the spying and death of Polonius, the King's sending Hamlet to England with two attendants and Hamlet's meeting soon after with the army of Fortinbras. There is no sufficient indication that Kvd was Shakespeare's source for any of those characteristics of Hamlet the man which have made him so engrossing a study to so many students and so appealing a character on the stage, other than the mere fact that Hamlet like Hieronimo reproached himself for his delay. There is clear evidence that Shakespeare departed from his source in having a considerable time elapse while Hamlet hesitated, because he was writing a drama on the theme of Hamlet's hesitation; and that he deliberately avoided the references to external obstacles in the play before him, even going so far as to have Hamlet say in his final soliloguy that there were no obstacles but he had "cause and will and strength and means" to compass his revenge and that he himself did not know why he had not done so. The evidence is therefore overwhelming that the instinctive reaction of thousands upon thousands of readers and spectators has been due to Shakespeare's intention; and that the inconsistencies in the play were occasioned by his incorporating features from Kyd's tragedy though he rejected Kyd's motivation of them.

The tendency of certain students, therefore, to interpret Shake-speare in the terms of Thomas Kyd is due to the fact that Hamlet's assumed madness and the enclosed play belonged originally to a drama in which the hero was not Shakespeare's highly individualized Hamlet but Kyd's blood-thirsty though questioning protagonist. As soon as we ignore all that makes Shakespeare's Hamlet interesting and distinctive, we at once revert to type—to the Hamlet of Kyd and of these recent critics. Why did Hamlet feign madness? To enable him to avoid suspicion. Why did he not kill the king at once? Why, because he couldn't; because "the tyrant is always surrounded by many guards." Why did he have the play? To settle his doubts. It is the answer of a simple mind, when the questions are set before it. But to propose such answers to Shake-

¹⁸ The questions do not occur to the average audience. The spectators wit-



now that he has had his say he regards it as necessary only to bring the matter to a stop. In the case of *Troilus and Cressida* he even goes so far as to leave the final scenes of the original play intact, without even bothering to revise them.

speare's Hamlet is to rob Hamlet's soliloquies of all their point. I have endeavored to show that it is Kyd's Hamlet and not Shake-speare's that these men are interpreting for us; and that to assign Kyd's motivation to Shakespeare is to rob Shakespeare of his claim to a genius of a higher order than Kyd's.

ness the action, realize that the hero cannot do anything else than what he does, and await the approaching accomplishment of his mission with much more sympathy and admiration for him than they would if they supposed that external difficulties or commonplace motives held him back.

SELBSTERLEBTES IN EICHENDORFFS AUS DEM LEBEN EINES TAUGENICHTS

By E. P. Appelt Indiana University

Als Minor im Jahre 1888, anlässlich der hundertsten Wiederkehr des Geburtstages des Dichters, seinen Aufsatz über Eichendorff veröffentlichte,1 glaubte er sein Bedauern zum Ausdruck bringen zu müssen, dass die wissenschaftliche Welt bis zu diesem Zeitpunkte sich nicht mehr mit dem "letzten Ritter der Romantik" beschäftigt habe. Die letzten vierzig Jehre haben eine Wandlung gebracht. Nicht nur, dass zahlreiche Sonderausgaben, besonders der Gedichte und einzelner Novellen erschienen, es wurden auch mehr oder weniger vollständige Gesamtausgaben herausgebracht. Die höchste Anerkennung hat die von Wilhelm Kosch veranstaltete historischkritische Ausgabe² erfahren, von der bis jetzt fünf Bände vorliegen, welche neben den Tagebüchern und Briefen die Gedichte und den Roman Ahnung und Gegenwart enthalten. Jahre wurde von dem Enkel des Dichters, Karl von Eichendorff, ein neuer Band hinzugefügt, der sich Ein Jahrhundert Eichendorff-Literatur betitelt. Obwohl die Tagebücher nicht vollständig sind, bieten sie mit dem nicht zu umfangreichen Briefwechsel eine Menge wertvollen Materials für die Beurteilung der Werke und des Wesens des Dichters.

In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird der Versuch gemacht, an einem Werk zu zeigen, wie Eichendorff Selbsterlebtes verarbeitet hat. Es wird dazu die Novelle Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts gewählt, weil sie nicht nur als seine beste Prosadichtung gilt, sondern uns auch Aufschlüsse über die Arbeitsweise und das seelische Leben des Dichters nach seiner Teilnahme an den Befreiungskriegen gewährt.

Machen wir uns die Auffassung Diltheys zu eigen, dass der Ausgangspunkt des dichterischen Schaffens immer die Lebenserfahrung ist, entweder die selbsterworbene oder die anderen Personen nach-

¹Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, Bd. 21, S. 214 ff.

² Kosch, Sämtliche Werke des Freiherrn Joseph von Eichendorff, Regensburg o. J.

empfundene, so müssen wir den Erfahrungskreis des Dichters betrachten und zu ergründen suchen, was ihn so beeinflusst hat, dass er es in einem Werke zum Ausdruck brachte.³

Die Entstehung des Taugenichts fällt in die Zeit der politischen Reaktion in Deutschland. Kurzsichtige Innenpolitik unterdrückte die Mitarbeit weiter Volkskreise an dem Aufbau des neuen Deutschland. So verrauchte die Begeisterung der Jugend ungenützt. Die Dichter fanden sich schweigend mit den bestehenden Verhältnissen ab und zogen sich in eine Welt der Phantasie zurück, die entweder in der Vergangenheit oder in der Fremde lag. Wie das politische, so war auch das wirtschaftliche Leben wenig erfreulich. Der Krieg und seine Folgen drückten schwer auf das Land. die Wirklichkeit so viel zu wünschen übrig liess, flüchtete man in die Welt der Ideen und versenkte sich in das Leben der Natur. Dazu kam noch ein ausgeprägtes religiöses Gefühl, das im Kriege erstarkt war. Die katholische Kirche mit ihrer Mystik, Sinnbildlichkeit und Kunstverehrung wurde für manches schönheitsdurstige und friedenshungrige Dichterherz ein Zufluchtsort. verständlich, wenn der Zug der Zeit nicht mehr so zielbewusst und national war wie während der Befreiungskriege, sondern sich mehr dem Universalen zuwandte.

Eine solche Gegenwart fand ihren Ausdruck in den Werken der zeitgenössischen Dichter. Die Zeit der älteren Romantiker, der gelehrten, weltbürgerlichen Männer, war vorüber. (Die Spätromantiker, voll Phantasie und Gemütstiefe, beseelt von inniger Liebe für Natur und Volk,) traten das Erbe an und setzten den Kampf gegen Klassizismus und Philistertum fort, weniger in der Theorie als (in der Hervorbringung volkstümlicher und volksgemässer Werke, in denen der Inhalt höher als die Form stand.) Zu diesen Werken gehört auch Eichendorffs Taugenichts, entstanden in dieser Zeit und hervorgegangen aus ihrem Geist.

Der Held der Novelle, in seiner göttlichen Sorglosigkeit und Nichtachtung der Realitäten des Lebens, ist das in die höchste Potenz gesteigerte Ideal des weltabgewandten Dichters. Im Suchen nach dem Unsagbaren findet er sein Glück; in seiner Einfalt, seinem Gottvertrauen und seinem Verbundensein mit der Natur ist er Don Quixote, Simplizissimus und Parzival zugleich. Der Held, wie die ganze Novelle mit ihren märchenhaften Zügen und Ansätzen zu kleinen Idyllen, ist aus der Zeit zu verstehen und bietet



³ Vergl. auch Werner, Lyrik und Lyriker, Leipzig, 1890. S. 102 ff.

nicht ein Bild der Welt, wie sie war, sondern wie sie in der Phantasie der spätromantischen Dichter lebte.

(In der Wahl des Stoffes und der Bearbeitung desselben entsprach Eichendorff nicht nur der Zeit, sondern er schrieb sich damit auch von der Seele, was ihn im tiefsten Innern bewegte. Im Januar 1816 war er aus Frankreich in seine oberschlesische Heimat zurückgekehrt, wo er die Entscheidung über seine Zukunft treffen musste. Nicht allein die schlechte Finanzlage der Familiengüter veranlasste ihn, sich in den Staatsdienst zu begeben, sondern auch Pflicht-und Verantwortungsgefühl trieben ihn dazu. Im Juni desselben Jahres finden wir ihn schon bei der Regierung in Breslau als Referendar. Scheinbar hat er Krieg und Politik bald vergessen, denn am 15. Juni schreibt er schon über neue dichterische Pläne an Fouqué.4 In dem Briefe heisst es: "Ich habe durch langes, nur zu oft scheinbar zweckloses, Umtreiben im Leben einen weiten Umkreis von Aussichten gewonnen, aus deren Gemisch von Zauber, lächerlicher Dummheit, Freude und Schmerz ich mich manchmal kaum herauswinden kann, und eine unwiderstehliche Lust dabei, gerade nur alles, was ich gesehen, gehört und durchlebt, einmal recht keck und deutlich zu frommer Ergötzung wieder darzustellen. ?' Ohne Zweifel deuten diese Worte auf den späteren Taugenichts hin. einer handschriftlichen Notiz," wie Kosch angibt,5 war die Novelle vor Mitte März 1817 teilweise vollendet. Eine Erstveröffentlichung erfolgte im Jahre 1923 in den von Holtei, Schall und Barth herausgegebenen Deutschen Blättern. Sie erschien in den Nummern 152 bis 158 unter dem Titel Ein Kapitel aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts." Da weitere Nachrichten fehlen, weiss man nicht, ob zur Zeit des Abdrucks die Novelle bereits vollendet war und eben nur teilweise der Öffentlichkeit übergeben wurde, oder ob tatsächlich die Vollendung später erfolgte, Kosch verlegt die Abfassung der letzten Kapitel nach 1820, weil er annimmt, das Wanderlied der Prager Studenten, das sich im neunten Kapitel findet, sei durch Wilhelm Müllers Prager Musikantenlieder, die 1820 erschienen, veranlasst worden. Ein Vergleich der Lieder zeigt jedoch, dass die Ähnlichkeit sich eigentlich auf die Überschrift beschränkt. Wenn Eichendorff gerade von Prager Studenten spricht, so kann

⁴ Kosch, a.a.O., Bd. 12, S. 18.

⁵ Kosch, a.a.O., Bd. 1, 2. Abtl. S. 269.

⁶ Müller, Wilhelm, Gedichte. Leipzig, 1868. Der Prager Musikant. S. 40. Die Prager Musikantenbraut. S. 42.

es auch darauf zurückzuführen sein, dass er während seines Aufenthalts in Prag im Jahre 1799 Studenten gesehen hat, die sich als neue Erscheinung seinem Gedächtnis besonders eingeprägt haben. Ähnliche Motive wie im Studentenlied finden sich auch in anderen Gedichten, und wörtliche Anklänge, wie sie in Der wandernde Student, Die Spielleute, Rückkehr und Der Morgen auftreten, müssten zu dem Schluss führen, auch diese seien in derselben Zeit entstanden. Die Spielleute aber z. B. wurden erst 1837 veröffentlicht. Sollte von einer direkten Beeinflussung die Rede sein können, so dürfte mit dem gleichen Rechte auch Brentanos Die lustigen Musikanten⁷ herangezogen werden, das bereits 1801 in Godwi erschienen war. In allerneuster Zeit hat Erich Gülzow nachgewiesen, dass die Bezeichnung Prager Studenten zur Zeit Eichendorffs und früher auf alle wandernden Musikanten, worunter sich oft auch Studenten befanden, angewandt wurde. So kann der Dichter, der ja gern volkstümliche Wendungen gebrauchte auch diese Benennung aus dem Volksmunde übernommen haben. Wenn nicht die Handschrift, die nach einer neueren Meldung in Sedlnitz gefunden wurde,8 andere Unterlagen bietet, kann man wohl annehmen, dass der Dichter bis 1825 an seinem Taugenichts gearbeitet hat. Ein Einschnitt scheint zwischen dem sechsten und siebenten Kapitel zu sein, denn nachdem der Held der Novelle das Briefchen erhalten hat, dürften wir seine Rückkehr nach dem Schlosse erwarten, statt dessen finden wir ihn im nächsten Kapitel in Rom.

Ein dem schon erwähnten Buche Ein Jahrhundert Eichendorff-Literatur beigefügtes Faksimili zeigt, dass der Dichter bei der Niederschrift seines Werkes über den Titel desselben noch im Unklaren war. Es finden sich dort verzeichnet: Der neue Troubadour, Der moderne Troubadour, Zwei (ein) Kapitel aus dem Leben eines armen Taugenichts, und Ein Kapitel vom Taugenichts. Die erste Buchausgabe, die 1826 bei der Vereinsbuchhandlung in Berlin erschien, trug als endgültige Fassung den Titel: Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts.

Der Aufenthalt Eichendorffs in Breslau war nur von kurzer Dauer. In den folgenden Jahren war er in Berlin und Danzig, bis im September 1824 seine Übersiedlung nach Königsberg er-

⁷ DNL. 146, 1, S. 127.

⁸ Literarisches Echo, 1920/21. Sp. 125.

⁹ Nicht Der graue Troubadour, wie Adolf Dyroff im Eichendorff-Kalender, 1927/28 (Verlag Lothar Schütte, Aichach) s. 79 schreibt.

folgte. Weder in Danzig noch in Königsberg ist er recht heimisch geworden. Die Sehnsucht nach der Heimat verliess ihn nie, und der Verlust des Familiengutes, wo er seine Jugend verlebt hatte, traf ihn schwer. Zu dem Heimweh kam noch das Gefühl der Vereinsamung. Die gemeinsame Erziehung mit seinem Bruder Wilhelm, das stete Zusammensein mit dem fast gleichaltrigen im Elternhause, im Konvikt und auf der Universität, mögen ein gewisses Anlehnungsbedürfnis bei ihm geschaffen haben. Der Taugenichts, so sehr es ihn von Hause treibt, hat auch Stunden, in denen er sich verlassen fühlt und nach einer verstehenden Seele verlangt. Wie froh ist er in Rom, als deutsche Laute an sein Ohr dringen! Das erinnert lebhaft an die Stelle eines Briefes, den Wilhelm von Eichendorff aus Paris schrieb, wo es heisst: "Wir hatten Heisshunger nach den alten treuen Klängen. ¹⁰ Die Entstehung des Taugenichts fällt in das zweite und dritte Lebensjahrzehnt des Dichters. Er war aus den Jünglingsjahren heraus, und die Pflichten des Amtes liessen ihm keine Zeit zum Träumen, er musste für die Seinen sorgen. Das hat er wohl täglich empfunden, und so war ihm sein Dichten ein Ausflug in das Land der sorglosen Jugend und die geliebten Gefilde der Heimat, ein Ausruhen nach der Arbeit des Tages.\ Es war, wie er bei der Abfassung seiner Märchennovelle Das Marmorbild geschrieben hatte, "ein verzweifelter Spaziergang ins Freie," und seine Seele "sehnte sich nach jener altgewohnten Abgeschiedenheit und Unbeflecktheit von den Welthändeln.''11

Die heimatliche Landschaft spiegelt sich im Taugenichts wieder, wie der Dichter sie als Knabe und Jäger durchstreift hat. Es ist nicht die flache Ebene, diese wird nur einmal als Heide erwähnt sondern die Hügellandschaft mit dem ruhig fliessenden, gewundenen Oderstrom und den rauschenden Wäldern. Hier waren die Schlösser mit den Parks und Gärten mit Lauben, Gängen und Teichen, wie er sie später in seinem Adelsleben beschrieben hat, und wie wir sie im Taugenichts finden. Allerdings hat das heimatliche Landschaftsbild durch den Wiener Aufenthalt mancherlei Bereicherung erfahren, vielleicht hat ihm bei der Darstellung des Schlosses im ersten Kapitel sogar das Schloss des Grafen Wilzek, von dem wir im Tagebuch eine Beschreibung finden, vorgeschwebt.

¹⁰ Brandenburg, Joseph von Eichendorff, München, 1922. S. 140.

¹¹ Kosch. a.a.O., Bd. 12, S. 21.

Wir wissen heute durch die Arbeiten Nadlers,12 dass erst die Fremde, in diesem Falle Heidelberg und die abwechselungreiche süddeutsche Landschaft, ihm die Augen für die Natur und die _ Umgebung geöffnet hat. (<u>Der Heima</u>t gehört seine ganze Liebe.) So trägt er denn auch manches aus ihr in seinen Taugenichts hinein. Da ist das Einnehmerhaus, wie man es noch heute an ostdeutschen Landstrassen findet,—wenn jetzt auch anderen Zwekken dienend—, und wie es der Dichter selbst gesehen hat. Da ist auch der Teich, da ist die Insel, zu welcher der Taugenichts die Herrschaften rudert. Das schöne Wien mit dem Stephansturm als Wahrzeichen, das der Held der Novelle herzlich begrüsst, hat Eichendorff selbst so gesehen, worauf die Tagebuchnotiz vom 19. September 1811 hindeutet. Es ist sogar wahrscheinlich, dass der Dichter bei der Abfassung seines Taugenichts auch sein Tagebuch zu Rate gezogen hat, wie er das bei der Niederschrift von Ahnung und Gegenwart getan hat.13

In einer anmutigen Gegend, im Frieden eines gut katholischen Hauses ist Eichendorff aufgewachsen. Frei von übertriebener Frömmigkeit, herrschte im Elternhause ein fröhlicher Ton. Es war geradezu die Atmosphäre, in der der ewig geigende und träumende Taugenichts sich entwickeln konnte. Sein Erzieher, der ihm zugleich Freund und Kamerad war, wird im Tagebuch oft mit Wärme genannt. Er hat als Vorbild zu dem Geistlichen in unserer Novelle gedient, der mit seinem freundlichen Wesen die Herzen der Schiffsreisenden erfreut und heitere Stimmung verbreitet.

Der Taugenichts hat die Gewohnheit, auf Bäume zu klettern, ein Motiv, das viermal in der Novelle vorkommt. Die Wiederholung muss uns umsomehr wundern, weil Loeben schon im Jehre 1814 in seiner Kritik von Ahnung und Gegenwart den öfteren Gebrauch des Motivs getadelt hatte. Wenn es der Dichter trotzdem nicht fallen lässt, so gründet sich das weniger auf das Vorbild Jean Pauls und Tiecks, wie man gesagt hat, sondern vielmehr auf eigene Jugenderlebnisse, wie aus Tagebucheintragungen zu entnehmen ist. Vielleicht haben wir in dem Baumklettern die erste Grundlage seiner Landschaftsschilderung zu suchen, nämlich der von ihm so gepflegten Betrachtung der Landschaft von oben. Nicht weniger

¹² Nadler, Eichendorffs Lyrik, Prag. 1908.

¹³ Kosch, a.a.O., Bd. 11, S. 287.

¹⁴ Kosch, a.a.O., Bd. 13, S. 61.

¹⁵ Kosch, a.a.O., Bd. 11, S. 287.

als siebenmal wendet der Dichter diese bemerkenswerte Art der Beschreibung einer Landschaft im Taugenichts an.

Von oben beschreibt der Dichter auch immer die Donau. Sie blitzt aus dem Grün hervor und auf ihr fahren die Schifflein, wie er sie oft auf der Oder gesehen hat. In seinem Tagebuch hat er im Februar 1801 das Erscheinen der ersten Schiffe erwähnt, woraus ersichtlich ist, wie wichtig ihm das Ereignis war. Es war wahrscheinlich die Freude an allem Beweglichen, das Eichendorff so gern geschildert hat. Mag der Dichter bei der Beschreibung der Fahrt im neunten Kapitel auch an seine Donaufahrt von Regensburg nach Wien im Jahre 1818 gedacht haben, das Interesse für ein solches Unternehmen war, wie das Tagebuch beweisst, schon lange vorhanden.

Musiküberraschungen sind in unserer Novelle nicht selten. ¹⁶ Sie sprechen nicht nur für die Musikliebe Eichendorffs, sondern nach Tagebuchnotizen stellen sie auch liebe Jugenderinnerungen dar. ¹⁷

Auch an tanzenden Personen fehlt es nicht im Taugenichts. Da sind die Bauern unter der Linde, das Personal auf dem italienischen Schloss, die Malergesellschaft in Rom unde zuletzt die Kinder im Schlosspark bei der Heimkehr. Im Tagebuch hat der Dichter oft ähnliche Szenen notiert. Nicht vergessen sei auch der kunstvolle Tänzer, als der uns im achten Kapitel der Taugenichts selbst und im sechsten der verliebte Student entgegentritt. Bei der Beschreibung des letzteren fällt besonders der Ausdruck "füsseln" auf, der in derselben Verbindung auch im Tagebuch zu finden ist, nur das dort von einem "füsselnden Häger" die Rede ist. 18

Ebenfalls erwähnt der Dichter betrunkene Personen, den Barbier und den Maler. Wiederholt weisst das Tagebuch Eintragungen auf, die vermuten lassen, dass er in dieser Hinsicht Gesehenes in seiner Novelle verarbeitet hat. So wird auch der weisse Mantel, der im achten Kapitel eine Rolle spielt, im Tagebuch erwähnt, wo er von einem adligen Sonderling getragen wird, welcher fünfmal Erwähnung findet.

Wie das Tagebuch beweisst, war Eichendorff in seiner Schüler und Studentenzeit ein eifriger Theaterbesucher. Die Bemerkungen über die gesehenen Stücke und die darstellenden Künstler sowie



¹⁶ Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorffs Werke, Leipzig, Amelang, 1883. Bd. 4. S. 20, 27, 74, 86.

¹⁷ Kosch, a.a.O., Bd. 11, S. 145.

¹⁸ Kosch, a.a.O., Bd. 11, S. 150.

seine Kritik zeigen, wie aufmerksam er den Vorgängen auf der Bühne gefolgt ist. Wir wundern uns darum nicht, wenn seine Novelle einige theatralische Szenen enthält, was besonders von dem letzten Teil des zehnten Kapitels gilt, der mit seinen singenden, tanzenden und bekränzenden Kindern beinahe opernhaft wirkt. Der auf dem Baumast zappelnde Taugenichts ist eine richtige Kasperlefigur, wie der Dichter sie oft auf im Tagebuch erwähnten Schaustellungen gesehen hat.

Eine ganze Anzahl Motive, die sowohl im Tagebuch wie im Taugenichts auftreten,—erwähnt seinen nur der weibliche Gesang zur Guitarre, das Mädchen am Fenster, das Schiff, das unter Musikklängen den Fluss hinunterfährt—,mögen sich auf eigene Erlebnisse gründen, sie sind aber so allgemein in der romantischen Literatur, dass sie ebensogut übernommen sein können. Es ist überhaupt schwer, in den Schriften der Romantiker den Schöpfer einzelner Motive festzustellen, da sie, wie Nadler gesagt hat, "in geistiger Gemeinschaft lebten." Das Lesen romantischer Schriften spielte bei ihnen eine so grosse Rolle, dass sie bewusst und unbewusst ihnen zusagende Motive verarbeiteten.

VERSE-SENTENCE PATTERNS IN ENGLISH POETRY

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My aim in this article is to present a method of analyzing metrical composition which will reveal some of the intimate differences in poetic style. In a subsequent article I shall point out the application of this method to some moot problems of dating and authorship.

In metrical composition the author is at the same time moulding syllables into prosodic groups and words into syntactic constructions. While forming feet and lines, he is writing sentences. Consequently one of the most marked characteristics of the poetic style is to be found in the varying patterns formed by the interweaving of the metrical and grammatical units.

It is to be expected, of course, that all poets should present a considerable variety of relationship between these units; but though a poet's pattern varies from line to line, an analysis of a group of several hundred lines will reveal some remarkable recurrent patterns which may be compared with his own usage elsewhere or with that of another poet.

Amid the indefinitely large number of characteristic patterns of individual poets, two opposite tendencies are plainly visible. A poet may habitually make his sentence units commensurate with his metrical units; that is, his line may usually be made up of a clause or phrase. Or, on the other hand, his sentence elements may run in and out of the line with apparent indifference to its boundaries.

Though this relationship of the line to the sentence has long been recognized, little attempt has been made to analyze and classify this relationship other than is involved in the computation of runon and end-stopped lines.¹ The test of enjambement, however, is unsatisfactory for several reasons.

¹ E. P. Morton (The Technique of English Non-Dramatic Blank Verse) improved the enjambement test by distinguishing between the comma-stopped and the full-stopped line. A. C. Bradley (Shakespearian Tragedy) has noted



In the first place, it is too largely dependent upon punctuation. In our earlier authors the punctuation has to be supplied by the editors; and the difference between the practice of the writers of Pope's day and that of Tennyson's is so great as seriously to hamper a comparative study of the proportion of run-on and end-stopped lines of the poets of the two periods.

A more serious objection to the enjambement test is its misleading incompleteness. A poet may overrun a considerable proportion of his lines on account of the length of his sentence, and yet have practically all his sentences begin with one line and end with another. In such a case the parallelism between the grammatical and metrical units is really much more marked than in the case of a sentence beginning and ending in the midst of a line, but making a minor pause in the process of its overflow.

But even if the test of enjambement could reveal the degree of parallelism between the units, it could not reveal the characteristic kinds of parallelism. For a poet's syntax and metrical structure may habitually diverge in some particulars, but quite as strongly coincide in others, and vice versa. These qualitative differences are not revealed by counting commas and semicolons at the ends of lines.

In this study of the grammatical content of the line, I have assumed as the largest syntactical unit, not the sentence, but what I have termed the clause-group. By this I mean the independent clause with all its appendages. I use this unit rather than the sentence because I feel that the number of clauses which a poet mechanically represents as constituting one sentence is, like punctuation, subject to many variable factors which tend to nullify comparative study. The fashion of one period differs materially from the fashion of another in this regard; and where we do not have carefully edited manuscripts in the author's own handwriting, not much dependence can be placed on capitals and periods.

When a complete independent assertion coincides with the line, I term it an independent-clause line, represented in the tabulation by I. For the purpose of this study it is not necessary to distinguish between an independent clause in isolation and one used in connection with dependent clauses in adjacent lines, so long as the

the contrast between speeches ending with the line and those ending within the line. The phenomenon of speech-ending, however, is only one aspect of the wider phenomenon of verse-sentence pattern.

independent clause is exactly coincident with that line in which it occurs. Here, in *Henry the Fifth*, is a passage with four of these lines in succession, an extended pattern not at all uncommon in Shakespeare's earlier plays.

By Jove, I am not covetous for gold; Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost; It yearns me not if men my garments wear; Such outward things dwell not in my desires.

From these illustrations it will be seen that I count as an I line one in which there is a subordinate assertion which is structurally a part of the main clause, usually a subject, object, or predicate substantive. Here I regard if in the third line as practically equivalent to that, and feel that the meaningless it is structurally inseparable from its clausal appositive.

In the following lines from Chaucer we find the independent-clause-line in connection with the dependent-clause-line (D).

But man after his deeth moot wepe and pleyne,
Though in this world he have care and wo:
(D)

Here the independent clause makes complete sense apart from its dependent appendage. Separable dependent clauses are usually adverbial or non-restrictive adjective clauses.

A line consisting of an independent clause and a non-restrictive dependent clause I have named the clause-group line. It is represented by Cl in the tabulation. Probably owing to the limits of the pentameter line, its occurrence is comparatively rare in all the poems which I have examined. The following speech of Brutus in $Julius\ Caesar$ is an illustration.

When I spoke that, I was ill-tempered too. (Cl)
Act IV, scene 3.

In addition to the independent and dependent-clause lines I include in my tabulation several sub-species. A line may contain a main assertion conveying a complete idea, and yet a non-restrictive phrase may be found in the line above or the line below. In the former case, we have the initially-incomplete independent-clause-line; and in the latter case, the terminally-incomplete independent-clause-line. Sometimes, though rarely, we have a line both initially and terminally incomplete.

The second line of the following passage will illustrate the -I construction.

² I mean, of course, incomplete as a grammatical unit.

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

... Good my liege,
The day that she was missing he was here.

Cymbeline, Act IV, sc. 1.

The vocative phrase, "Good my liege," belongs to the following clause, but without it there is still an independent assertion.

The terminally incomplete independent-clause (I-) line occurs much more frequently than the other subspecies. Predicates and phrases may easily be added to an assertion which could stand alone in its line, as in the following characteristic passage from Peele.

He casts his sacred eyesight from on high, (I-) And sees your foes run seeking for their deaths, Laughing their labours and their hopes to scorn. David and Bethsabe, Act I.

The second line of the following excerpt will illustrate the -I-construction.

... O my good lord,
At many times I brought in my accounts, (-I-)
Laid them before you; you would throw them off.

Timon of Athens, Act II, sc. 2.

The sub-species of the dependent-clause-line are much rarer than those of the independent. In the following passage from *Gorboduc* the last line is an example of the initially-incomplete-dependent-clause line. (-D).

And when the region is divided so
That brethern be the lords of either part,
Such strength doth nature knit between them both,
In sundry bodies by conjoined love,
That, not as two, but one of doubled force,
Each is to other as a sure defense. (-D)

The third line of the following passage from *Julius Caesar* represents the terminally-incomplete-dependent-clause-line.

O Cassius you are yokéd to a lamb
That carries anger as the flint bears fire,
Who, much enforced, shows a hasty spark,
And straight is cold again.

Act IV, scene 3.

The initially-and-terminally-incomplete-dependent-cause-line is illustrated by the fifth line of the following passage from *The Spanish Tragedy*.

While they maintain hot skirmish to and fro, Both battles join and fall to handy-blows, Their violent shot resembling th' ocean's rage, When, roaring loud, and with a swelling tide, It beats upon the rampires of huge rocks, (-D-) And gapes to swallow neighbor-bounding lands. Act I, scene 2.

By the phrase line (P) I mean one consisting of a grammatical unity below the rank of the clause. It includes such constructions as the prepositional, participial, gerund, and infinitive phrase; also a group of words used as object or predicate substantive, when occupying a whole line. Illustrations follow.

Then deck thee with thy loose, delightsome robes, And on thy wings bring delicate perfumes,

To play the wanton with us through the leaves.

David and Bethsabe, Act I.

And broghte hir hoom with him in his contree

With muchel glorie and great solempnitee.

Knightes Tale, lines 11-12.

Health and good hap to Bajazet,

The great commander of all Asia. (P)

Selimus, lines 164-165.

Nearly related to the phrase line is the subject line (S). In most of the works here examined this type of line is too infrequent to justify a separate classification. In the classic handling of the couplet, however, it is an important accompaniment of the predicate line, presently to be considered.

The following are examples of the subject line.

Troilus and Cressida, Act IV, sc. 2.

The subject-compound line (Sc) is not a homogeneous group but consists of a substantive with an appositive or non-restructive modifier.

My gracious Lord, the Duke of Somerset, (Sc)
Hath freely given to thee and to thine heirs,
By letters patents from his majesty,
All the lands of the Abbey of Feversham.

Arden of Feversham, Act I.

In the excerpt from *Gorboduc*, given to illustrate the subject line, we find an illustration of the subject-predicate construction in adjacent lines. This combination, though somewhat frequent in Pope and his school, is rather rare among the Elizabethans. The

predicate line, however, is fairly frequent, particularly in connection with the I- line. This style is particularly characteristic of Peele.

To thee for succor flies my feeble Muse, (I-)³
And at thy feet her iron pen doth use. (Pr)

David and Bethsabe, lines 22-3.

This completes the line structures which represent parallelism between the metrical and grammatical units. The following types represent various kinds and degrees of divergence of the line and the sentence. As in dealing with the parallelisms, I proceed from the major to the minor elements; that is, from the clause to the phrase.

The compound line (C) is one which contains two independent clauses, the first beginning with the line and the second ending with it. It will be seen that this type of line, though the end of the first clause and the beginning of the second ignore the boundaries of the line, yet represents considerable parallelism, in that the two independent structures are both packed within the line. As a matter of fact this type of line is generally found in conjunction with parallel structures. The following is an illustration from $Richard\ the\ Second$.

Give me his gage: lions make leopards tame.

Of course in rapid dialogue, where the compound line is divided between two or more speakers, it represents some advance, in diversity of pattern, over the method of allotting an independent-clause line to each speaker.

Next we note the initially-incomplete-compound-line (-C). In this type, one of the clauses ends with the end of the line, but the line begins with the fragment of a clause carried over from the previous line.

Men. Caesar and Lepidus

Are in the field: a mighty strength they carry.

Antony and Cleo., Act II, sc. 1.

The compound impeded-overflow-line is one in which an independent clause begins at the beginning of the line and another overflows at the end, but with the end of some minor structure

³ It will be seen that I count as a predicate-line a member of a compound predicate, the verb with its adjuncts, when occupying a whole line, as well as the complete predicate within a single line.

coinciding with the end of the line, so that it may be said to be impeded in its overflow.

He dreams. I know they are in Rome together, (C/) Looking for Antony . . .

Antony and Cleo., Act II, sc. 1.

The initially-incomplete-impeded-overflow-compound-line is similar to the above except that it begins with the fragment of a main clause left over from the previous line. It is illustrated by the third line of the following passage.

Cleo. By Isis, I will give thee bloody teeth,
If thou with Caesar paragon again
My man of men.

Char. By your most gracious pardon,
I sing but after you.

Antony and Cleo., Act I, sc. 5.

The compound free-overflow line (C-) is one in which the first clause begins with the line and the last clause flows freely into the next line.

Two curs shall tame each other: pride alone (C-) Must tarre the mastiffs on, as 'twere their bone.

*Troil. and Cress., Act I, sc. 3.

The initially-incomplete, free-overflow compound line is similar to the -C/ line described above, except that the overflow is free rather than impeded. The frequency of these two types constitutes the surest test of Shakespeare's later work.

O, I am known
To many in the army: many years,
Though Cloten then but young, you see, not wore him
From my remembrance. And besides the King
Hath not deserved my service nor your loves: . . .

Cymbeline, Act IV, sc. 4.

Corresponding to the types of compound lines are similar types of complex lines. Here, however, it should be noted that I use the term *complex* with reference to the combination of independent and dependent structures in the same line, as well as to the combination of two or more dependent clauses.

The simple or complete complex-line (c) is one made up of two separable dependent clauses.⁴ Its occurrence is very rare.

Now whether he kill Cassio,
Or Cassio him, or each do kill the other, . . . (c)
Othello, Act IV, sc. 1.

⁴ For the combination of an independent and a non-restrictive dependent clause in the same line, I have framed the separate classification Cl.



The initially-incomplete-complex-line is completely end-stopped, but contains a fragment of a clause run over from the previous line.

```
My lords, what to your wisdom seemeth best,
Do or undo, as if ourself were here. (-c)

### Henry VI, Act III, sc. 1.

If thou dost

Hear from me, it shall be for thy good.

#### Perioles, Act IV, sc. 6.
```

The impeded-overflow complex line has a clause beginning with the line and one of the clauses overflowing with a pause.

```
So Bajazet, now thou remain'st alone, (c/)
Unrip the thoughts that harbor in thy breast.
Selimus, line 12.
```

The initially-incomplete-impeded-overflow-complex-line contains a fragment of a clause run-over from the preceding line, and overflows with a pause.

```
Quarrel no more, but be prepared to know
The purposes I bear, which are, or cease,
As you shall give the advise. . .

Antony and Cleo., Act I, sc. 3.
```

The free-overflow-complex-line has a clause beginning with the line, and one of its clauses overflows freely into the following line.

```
If thou art done, we'll draw thee from the mire (c-) Of this sir-reverence love.

*Romeo and Juliet*, Act I, sc. 1.
```

The initially-incomplete-free-overflow-complex-line is similar to that just described, except that it begins with a fragment of a line run-over from the line preceding.

```
I cannot delve him to the root: his father
Was called Sicilius, who did gain his honour
Against the Romans with Cassibelan, . . .

Cymbeline, Act I, sc. 1.
```

Often a line contains only a portion of a clause but this portion consists of two separable phrases rather than of a phrase unit. When one of these phrases ends with the line, it may be considered a phrase-complex line.

```
And look how many Grecian tents do stand
Hollow upon this plain, so many hollow factions. (pc)
Troilus and Cressida, Act I, sc. 3.
```

When such a line overflows at the end, it may be called the overflow-phrase-complex line. We have, great Agemennon, here in Troy (pc-) A prince called Hector . . . Troilus and Cressida, Act I, sc. 3.

On the analogy of the compound and complex lines there might also be -pc/ and -pc- lines. Such forms can occasionally be recognized, but they are too infrequent to justify further analysis.

There remains to consider the line which represents a fragment of a distinct grammatical unit. This line I have labeled L in which the letter stands for *less*. On the basis of probability one would expect that this line would be most frequent in connection with types of line that denote divergence from the metrical pattern, but as a matter of fact it seems to be about as frequent in passages that abound with I, D, and P lines as in those in which -C/ and -C- prevail. Observe the third line of the following passage.

Tell him of Nestor, one that was a man When Hector's grandsire sucked; he is old now; But if there be not in our Grecian host (L) One noble man that hath one spark of fire, Tell him from me . . .

Troilus and Cressida, Act I, sc. 3.

Occasionally a fragment of a grammatical unit runs to the end of a line, from a preceding line, without constituting a distinct phrase. Such a line I have indicated by /.

You are too indulgent. Let us grant it is not Amiss to tumble on the bed of Ptolemy. (/) Antony and Cleo., Act I, sc. 4.

Since it is apparently impossible to frame simple terms by which to describe most of these types of line structure, I shall, after this explanation employ the symbols used in the tabulations.

To render the more complicated types clearer I have added the following simple diagrams. The marks of parenthesis indicate the beginning and end of the line. The dotted line represents an independent clause. The semicolon marks the point where the main clauses join. The comma indicates a pause at the end of the line.

						Th	e <i>C</i>	Li	ae.						
		(•		•	Тъ	e - <i>C</i>			•	•	•	•)	
	٠	(•	•	;			•)			
		(•	;	·	e $C_{ m c}$)	,		,

									The	e - <i>C</i>	'/ I	ine								
•			•	(•	•		•	;)	,		•	
			,								'- L									
			(•		•	•	;	Th)- L			•)	•	•	•	•	
				(;							١				
	•	•	•	`		•	•	•	,	•	•	•	•	•	•	,	•	•	•	•

The following passage from Tennyson's *Idylls of The King* involves in a short compass most of the types of lines previously explained.

SPECIMEN OF LINE-MARKING

The Coming of Arthur

Leodogran, the King of Cameliard,	Sc^5
Had one fair daughter, and none other child;	$\tilde{\mathbf{Pr}}$
And she was fairest of all flesh on earth,	Ī-
Guinevere, and in her his one delight.	-C
For many a petty king ere Arthur came	\mathbf{L}_{6}
Ruled in this isle and, ever waging war	
Each upon other, wasted all the land:	pc-7
	pc
And still from time to time the heathen host	Γ_8
Swarmed over seas and harried what was left.	\mathbf{Pr}
And so there grew great tracts of wilderness,	Ι
Wherein the beast was ever more and more,	\mathbf{D}
But man was less and less, till Arthur came.	-G9
And first Aurelius lived and fought and died.	Ι
And after him King Uther fought and died.	Ī
But either failed to make the kingdom one.	Ī
And after these King Arthur for a space,	рo
And through the puissance of his Table Round	P
Drew all their petty princedoms under him,	P10
Their king and head, and made a realm, and reign'd.	_
and leigh d.	\mathbf{pc}
And thus the land of Cameliard was waste,	I-
Thick with wet woods, and many a beast therein,	
And none or few to scare or chase the beast;	pc
So that wild domend welf and have all	P11
So that wild dog and wolf and boar and bear	${f L}$

⁵ The subject-compound line, subject with appositive.

⁶ I regard this as an L line, but the case involves a close decision. Had the clause "ere Arthur came" been set off, I should have called the line c/. It can not be a subject-line for the modifier is adverbial.

^{7&}quot;Ever waging war each upon other" I regard as an indivisible phrasegroup overflowing the line.

 $^{^8}$ I call this an L line rather than an S because the modifiers, "still" and "from time to time," are adverbial.

 $^{^{9}\,\}mathrm{The}$ word "wherein" is shared by the two dependent clauses; the line is -c rather than c.

¹⁰ I regard this as a verbal phrase. It is not a predicate because "their king and head" is an additional part of the first member of the compound predicate.

¹¹ This elliptical expression might be taken as a complete assertion. In that case, the line should be represented by *I*. It seems more logical, however, to regard it as a phrase co-ordinate with "and many a beast therein."

Came night and day, and rooted in the fields,	рc
And wallowed in the gardens of the King.	Рr
	-
And ever and anon the wolf would steal	${f L}$
The children and devour, but now and then,	pc
Her own brood lost or dead, lent her fierce teat	pc-
To human sucklings; and the children, housed	<u>-</u> C-
In her foul den, there at their meat would growl,	\mathbf{pc}
And mock their foster-mother on four feet,	Рr
Till straighten'd, they grew up to wolf-like men	D-12
Worse than the wolves. And King Leodogran	-C-
Groaned for the Roman legions here again	${f L}$
And Caesar's eagle: then his brother king,	-C/
Urian, assailed him, last a heathen horde,	-C7
Reddening the sun with smoke and earth with blood,	\mathbf{P}
And on the spike that split the mother's heart	${f L}$
Spitting the child, brake on him, till, amazed,	-c/
He knew not whither he should turn for aid.	-D

In my tabulation I have worked on a basis of five hundred lines. Such a group is sufficiently large to offset the variations, naturally to be expected in brief passages, and at the same time is short enough to permit of its application to a considerable number of works. This group includes, on the average, more than an act of a Shakespearian play, and runs over a little more than one book of Wordsworth's *Prelude*.

I do not contend that an author's style in all his works can be deduced from a tabulated sample of one. Where I have examined distinctly different kinds of work of an author, considerable differences are made apparent. But in the case of two portions of the same work or of closely related works, the resemblance is striking. I invite attention to the figures for the two tales of Chaucer, two parts of Wordsworth's *Prelude*, *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. The Coming of Arthur and Gareth and Lynette.

Not all the similarities revealed in the tabulations, however, are significant. Certain types of lines are so rare in all the authors studied that they afford no evidence of similarity or difference in line-sentence pattern. This is always true of I-, I-, I-, I-, I-, I-, I-, and is usually true of I-, I-

Glancing at the figures for Chaucer at the head of the list, one is at once struck by the high degree of parallelism between the line and the sentence, especially the large proportion of I lines. It is

¹² I here disregard Tennyson's omission of the comma and consider this a dependent clause with a non-restrictive modifier in the following line.



true that Chaucer's habit of repeating his subject along with a new verb conveys an exaggerated impression of the number of main assertions in his work. But if allowance were made for this peculiarity, its main effect would be to increase the Pr lines in the same ratio as the I lines were decreased. It is interesting to note the excess in I lines of the Prologue over those in the tales. This is doubtless due to the separative tendency of sententious comment, in the first instance, and to the combining tendency of narration in the second. What the tales lose, relative to the Prologue, in I lines, they gain chiefly in D and L lines.

In Gorboduc, the sharp decrease in the I lines seems at first sight to represent diversity of line-sentence pattern; but this is counterbalanced by the large figures for P, S, and Pr. As a matter of fact the fewness of the I lines is chiefly due to the long speeches and long sentences. The Spanish Tragedy and Arden of Feversham bring back the high proportion of I lines. David and Bethseba is distinguished by its large proportion of I-, P, and Pr lines.

Marlowe's "mighty line" still shows the high degree of parallelism of the early Elizabethans. It is noteworthy that his dramatic development, in sharp contrast to Shakespeare's, increased the number of his I lines. Edward the Second contains more than twice as many as Tamburlaine. This is due to the shortening of the dialogue without dividing a line between speakers. On the other hand, the enormous number of P lines, twenty per cent in Tamburlaine, has correspondingly decreased. The parts of Hero and Leander written by Chapman and Marlowe respectively show considerable differences, especially in the I, P, and -c- lines.

A large number of Shakespeare's plays intervene between Edward II and Sejanus. Perhaps in imitation of Shakespeare, Jonson shows in Sejanus a great decrease in the number of I lines and a considerable emergence of the -C/ and -C- types. This tendency is also apparent in Webster's Duchess of Malfi.

Proceeding to $Paradise\ Lost$ we find the I lines shrinking to an almost negligible number. Parallelism in Milton is evidenced chiefly by the relatively large number of his P lines.

With Dryden's The Hind And the Panther we find the intentional parallelism of the classicists in full play. The close correspondence of the line pattern of Pope's Illiad with that of The Hind And the Panther is probably indicative of painstaking imitation. The Essay on Criticism reveals a much higher percentage of I lines,

the difference between the narrative and expository style being analogous to that between Chaucer's tales and Prologue.

In Goldsmith's Deserted Village there are signs of the loosening of the mathematical parallelism of the pattern of Dryden and Pope. In Cooper's The Task, and still more in Thomson's Spring, the influence of Milton is unmistakably apparent—an influence that reaches its climax in Wordsworth's Prelude where the detailed similarity to Paradise Lost, furnished by the tabulation, is certainly striking.

Shelley's Alastor also shows Miltonic influence, but it is probable that this influence is exercised indirectly through the medium of Wordsworth. In the large number of -C- lines, however, the poem differs materially from the style of both poets. Prometheus Unbound, Epipschidion, and the Cenci reveal considerable variety of style. Among the nineteenth century poets it is interesting to note that both Keats and Browning—probably in intentional contrast to the classic handling of the couplet—show greater parallelism of pattern in their blank verse than in their rhymed couplets. The difference furnished by the figures for the two parts of The Ring and the Book seems to promise measurable differences of style correspondent to the differences in characters of the imagined narrators.

Doubtlessly, the most interesting thing the tables reveal is the evolution in Shakespeare's style which occurred between the writing of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Winter's Tale*.

Of Cl lines the earlier play shows 19; the later play, none. Next we come to the I line. Here the difference is very significant. In the earlier play there are 165; in the later, only 30. Since the I-line is comparatively rare, I attach no great significance to its testimony. The difference, however, is in keeping with the other differences, 22 to 9. The I and I lines are too rare to possess any comparative significance whatever. The difference in the number of I lines, however, is highly significant. There are 30 in I moderate I lines, however, I and I lines, all of which are rare in Shakespeare's works, we come to the I lines. Here the earlier play shows 27; the later, only 18.

With the C lines, as previously explained, we begin to pass from the lines denoting parallelism of pattern to those which denote diversity. In general, however, the abundance of this particular

type is found in connection with the parallel structures. The Two Gentlemen of Verona has 59; The Winter's Tale, 29.

The desirability of noting not only where clause-groups end, but where they begin, is strikingly emphasized by the difference between the C and -C lines in the earlier play. Though there are 29 C lines, there are but 4 of the -C variety. The Winter's Tale, on the other hand, has 67.

The rare C/ line need not be considered. The -C/, however, is highly significant. The table for *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* shows but 1; *The Winter's Tale* has 51.

Ignoring the unimportant C- line, we come to the type of line that is most significant in distinguishing the degree of maturity of a Shakespearian play. Of the -C- lines the later play shows 70; the earlier, 2.

Of the varieties of complex lines, only the -c- line possesses any comparative significance. Four, out of 500, are found in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*; 32 in *The Winter's Tale*.

The L line is subject to considerable variation. I attach little significance to the ratio of 33 to 54.

In the phrase-compound lines, it is to be noted that the earlier play has few of each type, and an excess of the pc over the pc-; while in the later play both types are relatively frequent with the proportions reversed. There is a striking contrast afforded by the figures 13 and 5 for the former, as compared with 17 and 40 for the latter.

This comparison has revealed large and measurable differences between the earlier and later plays of Shakespeare. Specifically the development in Shakespeare's style consists chiefly in a great shrinking of the I, D, P, and Pr lines, and a corresponding increase in the -C, -C, -C, -C, -C, and -C lines, together with a growing excess of the -C- over the -C/ lines, and of the -C- over the -C- ove

Paradise Regained The Hind and Panther

Sejanus
Duchess of
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GENERAL TABULATION

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29	298 PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY																					
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	Pope's Iliad	Essay on Criticism	$Deserted \ Village$	$Night \ Thoughts$	The Task	$\begin{array}{c} \text{Thomson's} \\ Spring \end{array}$	Wordsworth $Prelude\ I$	Prelude XII	Alastor	$Prometheus\ Unbound$	Epipsy- chidion	Cenci	Endymion	Hyperion Hyperion	Coming of Arthur		Sordello	The Ring and the Book—I.	Caponsacchi	Sohrab and Rustum	Atlanta in Calydon	Prologue to Earthly Paradise
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CONTEMPORARY POLITICS IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMA: FULKE GREVILLE

By E. P. Kuhl University of Iowa

In view of the growing evidence of contemporaneity in the entire history of the stage in the reign of Elizabeth, was there in the last years of her sway a complete separation between the world of play and the world of everyday life?

Some help in this matter is to be had from an author all but unknown in this connection—Fulke Greville. His theory of dramatic composition, put forth in great detail for his plays, c. 1600, is as illuminating as it is unique for the period under discussion. And there is added significance in the fact that Greville was a friend and kinsman of the Earl of Essex, as well as fellow townsman of Shakspere.

In his Life of Sir Philip Sidney (1907, 155 ff.) Greville says:

Lastly, concerning the Tragedies themselves; they were in their first creation three; Whereof Antonie and Cleopatra, according to their irregular passions, in forsaking Empire to follow sensuality, were sacrificed to the fire. The executioner, the author himselfe. Not that he conceived it to be a contemptible younger brother to the rest: but lest while he seemed to looke over much upward, hee might stumble into the Astronomers pit. Many members in that creature by the opinion of those few eyes, which saw (it) having some childish wantonnesse in them, apt enough to be construed, or strained to a

personating of vices in the present Governors, and government.

From which cautious prospect, I bringing into my minde the ancient Poet's metamorphosing mans reasonable nature into the sensitive of beasts, or vegetative of plants; and knowing these all (in their true morall) to bee but images of the unequall ballance between humors, and times; nature, and place. And again in the practice of the world, seeing the like instance not poetically, but really fashioned in the Earle of Essex then falling; and ever till then worthily beloved, both of Queen, and people: This sudden descent of such greatnesse, together with the quality of the Actors in every Scene, stir'd up the Authors second thoughts, to bee carefull (in his owne case) of leaving faire weather behind him. Hee having, in the Earles precipitate fortune, curiously observed: First, how long this Noblemans birth, worth, and favour had been flattered, tempted, and stung by a swarm of Sect-animals, whose property was to wound, and fly away: and so, by a continuall affliction, probably enforce great hearts to turne, and tosse for ease; and in those passive postures, perchance to tumble sometimes upon their Soveraignes Circles.³

¹ Not mentioned by Albright (Dramatic Publication in England) or Chambers.

²C. C. Stopes, Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries, 1907, 161 ff.; cf. specially 168, 171.

³ Greville proceeds to criticize the enemies of Essex, who made libels against the Earl and did everything possible to bring about his ruin.

Though Greville's prose is not as plain as way to parish church' his main drift is clear. The play of Antonie and Cleopatra, composed c. 1600 but at advice of friends committed to flames, was an attack on those who brought about the downfall of his friend (and cousin) the Earl of Essex. Nor could the fact that the theme was Roman (and therefore historical) hide the author's meaning from his friends. This is an important point: for not even a Roman cloak could disguise the writer's real intent.

Fortunately one of the plays of this period is in existence, for which Greville gives his reason for writing. Of *Alaham* and *Mustapha* (latter probably composed in the reign of James)⁵ he writes (op. cit., 221):

Now to return to the Tragedies remaining, my purpose in them was, not (with the Ancient) to exemplifie the disastrous miseries of mans life, where Order, Lawes, Doctrine, and Authority are unable to protect Innocency from the exorbitant wickednesse of power, and so out of that melancholike Vision, stir horrour, or murmur against Divine Providence: nor yet (with the Moderne) to point out Gods revenging aspect upon every particular sin, to the despaire, or confusion of mortality; but rather to trace out the high waies of ambitious Governours, and to shew in the practice, that the more audacity, advantage, and good successe such Soveraignties have, the more they hasten to their owne desolation and ruine.

He continues significantly (ibid., 221 f.):

So that to this abstract end, finding all little instruments in discovery of great bodies to be seldome without errours, I presumed, or it rather escaped me, to make my Images beyond the ordinary stature of excesse, wherein again that women are predominant, is not for malice, or ill talent to their Sexe; But as Poets figured the vertues to be women, and all Nations call them by Feminine names, so have I described malice, craft, and such like vices in the persons of Shrews, . . .

As for the

Arguments of these Tragedies they be not naked, and casuall, like the Greeke, and Latine, nor (I confesse) contrived with the variety and unexpected encounters of the Italians, but nearer Level'd to those humours, councels, and practices, wherein I thought fitter to hold the attention of the Reader, than in the strangeness, or perplexedness of witty Fictions.⁶

⁴ Sidney was composed later in life.

⁵ Cf. Croll, Works of Fulke Greville (Univ. of Penn. Dissertation, 1901, 38 f.); Cushman, M.L. Notes, XXIV, 180. On the date of Alaham see Croll (36) and Cushman. This play, not printed till 1632, shows signs of censorship. For the removal of pertinent passages from Mustapha see appendix to Grosart's edition (vol. III). It might be argued since Greville was related to Essex that Alaham is not a good example of the author's dramatic theory, because of the possible presence of rancour. However, hatred is absent in Sidney, and Mustapha (written probably after the death of the Queen) parallels Alaham in treatment. Both plays, as noted by Bullen long ago, are coldly philosophical.

⁶ The remainder of the book, in which he states the plays were primarily intended to be read, is not without value.

Since Shakepere prefixed choruses to his $Henry\ V\ (c.\ 1599)$, Greville's discussion of the relation of each chorus to every act of the play becomes instructive (ibid., $150\ f.$):

The workers (as you see) are Tragedies, with some Treatises annexed. The Treatises (to speake truly of them) were first intended to be for every Act a Chorus: and though not borne out of the present matter acted, yet being the largest subjects I could then think upon, and no such strangers to the scope of the Tragedies, but that a favourable Reader might easily find some consanguinitie between them; I preferring this generall scope of profit, before the self-reputation of being an exact Artisan in that Poeticall Mystery, . . . ?

Alaham (c. 1600) is concerned with weak and tyrannical monarchs, vices both public and private, the voice of the common people; banishment and exile, and deposition of kings.

The ideal rulers are popular:

Princess must shew themselves in open sight; Men joy in them that doe in men delight (I, 2, 3 f.).

But a high-handed prince is disastrous:

A king that brings Authority in doubt: This is the fruit of Power's misgovernment. (V, 2; Grosart, III, 279)

It can readily be seen that Greville was doing in verse what Hayward (also at that time) was doing in his *History of Henry IV*. And Hayward's suspected portions (for which he was thrown into the Tower) also occur⁸ in the Henry plays of Shakspere.⁹

Certain conclusions may be offered: (a) One dramatist in the circle of Essex and Shakspere discussed in dramatic form—at a time when chaos seemed to come again—rulers and government. That this was his unmistakable motive Greville's own remarks confirm. (b) Delocalization, whether in Rome or far-off Orient, was no impediment to an Elizabethan's ability to read between the lines. That a play should therefore walk on all fours was entirely unnecessary. Behind a Roman or oriental mask an author could—and did—shoot his wit at 'ambitious governours.' That this is an important conclusion is obvious: at least one dramatic writer in high circles, literary and political, was, on his own testimony, more than a romantic poet. This fact should help to dispel the fog of romantic criticism that still clings about the Elizabethan

 $^{^9\,\}mathrm{Particularly}~\mathcal{Z}~Henry~IV.$ Space forbids giving innumerable parallels to Hayward (and Shakspere).



⁷ These treatises and choruses are discussed by Croll (op. cit., 43 ff.).

⁸ Cf. Albright, PMLA., XLII (1927), 686 ff.; Kuhl, Studies in Philology, XXV (July, 1928).

drama. (c) Since Alaham strikingly parallels Hayward, on deposition, banishment and exile, we are forced to put another question. Was not Shakspere, who has much in common with Hayward, also vividly aware of what was going on about him? In other words, when Greville (as well as Hayward) reflects the gloom and want of unity that characterizes the end of the Queen's rule, was Shakspere—then also approaching his sombre period—dwelling apart? There is evidence that he, who reacted to a multitude of energies, likewise had motives other than purely literary.¹⁰

 $^{^{10}\,\}mathrm{See}$ forthcoming study on Shakspere in which Greville will further be considered.

BRIEF ARTICLES AND NOTES

THE SOURCES OF B. PEREZ GALDOS, DONA PERFECTA, CAP. VI.

Most readers of this justly famous novel of the great Spanish writer will easily recall the sixth chapter, momentous in the technique of the work, since here the first battle is fought between the Old and the New, between Reaction, as represented by the priest D. Inocencio, and Progress, as exemplified by the young D. José de Rey, the nephew of Doña Perfecta.

Having been irritated by the pin-pricks of the worthy canon, D. José replies with a flaming speech, quite unexpected, to be sure, the trend of which is that modern science has made a tabula rasa of all the ancient myths and superstitions. This speech, though coherent and to the point throughout, revolves around two distinct ideas. In the first part, D. José expresses his satisfaction that mankind has at last woken up from the age-long slumber, from the vicious dream, a mixture of fever, hallucination and delirium, and that Reason has at last triumphed over the phantasms of the past. the second part, he proceeds to explode a long series of myths, oddly enough, by having recourse to the time-honored method of an allegorical interpretation. Still more strange does it seem that the myths attacked are largely pagan, in fact, had been exploded long before the advent of Christianity, and that their ruthless destruction should shock, as it actually does, a priest of the Church. satisfied with this work of demolition, the bold young man promptly goes farther and points out the scientific inaccuracy of Dante's cosmology. Yet here again he is not attacking any fundamental tenet of orthodoxy, and the consternation he produces is not easy to understand. It is only toward the end of his little speech that he actually attacks the mythology of the Christian variety by ridiculing the miracles and hitting one of the most foolish of these, however sacrosanct to all fundamentalists, whatever their nationality. We shall promptly see how this seemingly strange part of D. José's speech is to be explained in the light of the sources utilised by Galdós.

It may be said at once, the novelist drew on two distinct sources. The first of these was unquestionably Heinrich Heine, in whose works this train of thought, mediæval man being really the victim of a vicious nervous disease, recurs time and again. It is found more especially in Heine's essay Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland. A comparison of the two texts will make my thesis amply clear.

Doña Perfecta, p. 601
Adiós, sueños torpes; el género humano despierta, y sus ojos ven la claridad. El sentimentalismo vano, el misticismo, la fiebre, la alucinación, el delirio, desaparecen, y el que antes era enfermo, hoy está sano, y se goza con placer indecible en la justa apreciación de las cosas. La fantasía, la terrible loca, que era el ama de la casa, pasa á ser criada. . .

Zur Geschichte, p. 1402 Diese Weltansicht, die eigentliche Idee des Christentums, hatte sich unglaublich schnell über das ganze römische Reich verbreitet, wie eine ansteckende Krankheit; das ganze Mittelalter hindurch dauerten die Leiden, manchmal Fieberwut, manchmal Abspannung, und wir Modernen fühlen noch immer Krämpfe und Schwäche in den Gliedern. Ist auch mancher von uns schon genesen, so kann er doch der allgemeinen Lazarettluft nicht entrinnen, und er fühlt sich unglücklich als der einzig Gesunde unter lauten Siechen. Erst wenn die Menschheit ihre völige Gesundheit wiedererlangt, wenn der Friede zwischen Leib und Seele wiederhergestellt und sie wieder in ursprünglicher Harmonie sich durchdringen: dann wird man den künstlichen Hader, den das Christentum zwischen beiden gestiftet, kaum begreifen können. Die glücklichern und schöneren Generationen, die, gezeugt durch freie Wahlumarmung, in einer Religion der Freude emporblühen, werden wehmütig lächeln über ihre armen Vorfahren, die sich aller Genüsse dieser schönen Erde trübsinnig enthielten, und durch Abtötung der warmen farbigen Sinnlich-keit fast zu kalten Gespenstern verblichen sind.

In the second part, D. José enters upon a categorical denial of long accredited myths: "Jupiter no descarga el rayo... no hay Parnaso, no hay Olimpo, no hay leguna Estigia... no hay condenados en el centro de la tierra..." It is clear that, if these attacks on the ancient Greek and Roman religion can be shown to have existed in this form in a work of easy access to Galdós, this can be considered as prima facie evidence that he actually utilised that particular book, and the very nature of that source of his may then have something to do with the fact, rather puzzling at first

¹ B. Pérez Galdós, Doña Perfecta, Madrid, 1913.

² Heinrich Heine, Sämtliche Werke in zwölf Teilen, Leipzig, Hesse u. Becker, s.d. Achter Teil.

sight, that it is the ancient Mediterranean creed, not modern Catholicism, which Galdós singles out for his attack. That source is an ancient work, Lucretius' treatise *De rerum natura*, more especially the third book, where the author indulges in an equally categorical series of denials, overthrowing the mythology of *his* religion.³ It is Lucretius, no doubt, who also suggested the strange allegorical interpretation which we noticed in the Spanish novel,⁴ an interpretation excusable in an ancient writer, for whom there existed no scientific history of religion, but far less so in a modern author, who wrote at a time when anthropological studies in Europe were bearing their first fruit. It may be said that Galdós might have secured the necessary information with comparatively little trouble; however, he failed to do this, and from the purely artistic viewpoint the chapter is perhaps none the worse for it.

A number of changes introduced by the modern writer are of course obvious. They are natural enough, and one may on the whole be rather astonished, not that he introduced them at all, but that he did not introduce more. Lucretius' method of disposing of the myths of the ancients would doubtless have been equally effective in exploding the Christian mythology. Yet Galdós was satisfied with leaving Lucretius' text in the main as he found it, that is, directed against the ancient gods, dead long since. In fact, with one exception, his D. José is most careful not to touch upon the Christian dogma. The reason for this apparent conservatism is not difficult to guess. The indignation the novel produced in Spain as elsewhere was great enough as it was, and the author had no doubt a correct feeling that he had gone about as far as he dared go.

Heine's treatise, as most of his prose works, was accessible in French translation⁵; in fact, in a number of cases the French text is anterior to the German original, having been published in French periodicals before the German version appeared in print, usually quite mutilated by the censor. Galdós, who did not know German,

³I can quote here only samples culled from this rather long passage of the third book. 980 f., nec. miser... Tantalus; 984., nec Tityon...

^{4.} Tantalus = the superstitious man; Tityos = the passionate man; Sisyphus = the ambitious man; the Danaides = the dissatisfied, etc. etc.

⁵ De l'Allemagne depuis Luther, Revue des Deux Mondes, mars, novembre et décembre 1834. The standard Spanish translations of Heine are posterior to the publication of Doña Perfecta; so are Friedrich Nietzsche's works, who develops very much the same thesis as Heine, his teacher.

had easy access to the French editions, which are even now fairly well liked in Southern Europe, where a knowledge of German is not as common as it is elsewhere.

As for the Latin classics, Galdós was very familiar with them and did not share, in this respect, D. José's aversion. Describing the library of D. Inocencio, in the twenty-fifth chapter of the novel, he enumerates the Latin writers (the Greek ones are conspicuous by their absence) that were found on the shelves, and among them was, of course, also Lucrecio el panteísta.

Nor is it an accident that Heine and Lucretius should have been chosen to furnish the weapons for this chapter. True enough, D. José's heretical opinions are in reality considerably less radical than might be supposed, to judge from the sixth chapter of the novel, and so were, no doubt, the religious tenets of the author, whose Weltanschauung never seems to have developed beyond a mild form of deism. Thus Galdós could safely have turned to a different arsenal of heresies, the works of Voltaire and the encyclopædists, for example. Yet as D. José candidly admits, his main purpose was to épater les bourgeois, i.e., the villagers of Orbajosa in general and D. Inocencio in particular. Deism alone would not have done the trick, and to create a clearly drawn contrast between two irreconcilable extremes, few writers would furnish a better inspiration than Lucretius with his doctrine of the Ataraxia of the gods and Heine, who proclaimed:

Den Himmel überlassen wir Den Engeln und den Spatzen.

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A JONSON ALLUSION, AND OTHERS

The following hitherto unnoted allusions, though presenting no new information, appear worth recording. They occur in the introductory matter to an anonymous politico-historical play, The/True tragi-Comedie/formarly acted at court of now reui[v]ed by ane/Eie witnes/before which ar drawn/the/Liuely pictures/or



¹ Dealing with the divorce of Lady Frances Howard, Countess of Essex, in 1613, and her marriage with Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset; in 5 acts, with prologue and epilogue. I hope to discuss the play in detail on a later occasion.

² Referring, of course, to the subject of the drama, i.e., the divorce case. The play itself was certainly never acted and was not intended to be published (f.18v).

caracters/of the/most considerable parsons/Represented/in a holograph MS.³ (Additional 25348) in the British Museum. The author,⁴ writing at a date not far removed from the latter part of 1654,⁵ now in his advanced age, had evidently been a man about town and had closely followed the events of court and city, of which his memory extended backward to almost the beginning of the century. Hence the following reference to the initial failure (in 1603) and later success of Ben Jonson's Sejanus⁶ takes on interest.

In an address To the reader/consarning the following characters/or pictures/ $(f.1^v)$, after an apology for the length of the "characters," the author proceeds:

if thes/condem me, which are but scriblers them selues, I/apele from thair Iudgments, as incompetent;/if thay be, for partial, & inconsideret to peirce/thair credit throw the sids of mine, before thay/know thair oune fate: many Authors being/thout worthy to be saved by us, which the fore/fathers damned to the pit of hell, I a monst others/hissed Scianus of the stage, yet after sate it/out, not only patiantly, but with content, &/admiration, . . .

In To the Reader consarring the following Play (f.18), writing



³ In quarto; 46 folios. The introductory matter consists of two addresses to the reader (ff.1v-3 and 18-18v), and twelve character sketches (ff. 3v-17v) dealing with the Earl of Somerset, Lady Frances Howard, Sir Thomas Overbury, the Earl of Northampton, etc.

⁴ The MS. is unsigned, and the author's identity has not as yet been discovered.

⁵ The author mentions (f.17v) "a late booke, Entitaled the Cabala" wherein is printed a letter exposing the "folly" of Sir Edward Coke. This refers to a letter wrongly attributed to Bacon (cf. Spedding, Works of Francis Bacon, XIII, 121 ff.) printed in the second part of Cabala:/sive/Scrinia Sacra./Mysteries/of/State & Government:/in/Letters/of illustrious Persons, and great Agents; in the/Reigns of Henry the Eighth, Queen Elizabeth,/K: James, and the late King Charles./In Two Parts./In which the Secrets of Empire, and/Publique manage of Affairs are contained./With many remarkable Passages no where else Published./London,/Printed for G. Bedel, and T. Collins, and are to be sold at their/Shop at the Middle-Temple-gate in Fleetstreet, 1654/. (Entered in Stat. Reg. 4 Aug. 1654. Eyre, Transcript, I, 453). The reference is probably to this collected edition rather than to the earlier separate edition of the second part (Stat. Reg. 8 May, 1654. Eyre, Transcript, I, 447), with the title Scrinia Sacra... A supplement of the Cabala, etc. The British Museum cataloguer (Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCLIV-MDCCCLXXV. London. Vol. II, 1875, p. 181) failed to note this reference and dated the MS. as "subsequent to Sept. 1634," the date of the Earl of Northampton's death, who is spoken of as no longer living (f.6).

⁶ Cf. E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, 367; C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, Ben Jonson, [The Man and His Work], I, 36; J. F. Bradley and J. Q. Adams, The Jonson Allusion-Book, 44-48, 49, 51, 52, 97-98, 188. For its later success, cf. Jonson's address to Lord Aubigny prefixed to the play in the 1616 Folio, where he says the play 'hath out-liu'd [the people's] malice, and begot it selfe a greater fauour then he [Sejanus] lost, the loue of good men.'

on the lack of contemporary appreciation of merit, the author continues:

Captain Iohn Bingham that translated Ælian7/out of Greeke, & the p'decessors [sic] to Skippon in the City/Artilery, a man no les fitt for practice, perished for/want in Ireland. Sr Thomas Glouer, Consul at/Constantinople, & made famous by so many gretfull/acknouligments for courtesies done to his nation, did/little beter then starue. Owen the Epigrammatist/& another reare decipherer of Letters (whom I haue/oftne observed to walke & dine to gether with Duke/ Humphrey in Pauls) with a number more (whoe had wisdom/& parts rich enough to endow this nation with greter/peace, & plenty then it is ever likly to inioy,) yet ware/sofared to be devoured with the rust of want & contempt/or forced with lerned George Chapman to wright for the Stage/that lies now undar a heuier censure, then any wise nation/ever loaded har with, being to my knowlig the beast/tutor our ignorant gentary & nobility had: so as if our/devins coold have plaid thair parts in the pulpet with/as much reson, & Elagencie as some of our poets cried up/moralitie on the Theater, religion & allegiance had not so/easily abiured the Kingdom/.

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NOTE ON BALZAC'S MAITRE CORNELIUS

A curious example of the perpetuation, through many editions, of an error in date is to be found in Balzac's Maître Cornélius. Near the end of the story (page 280 of the Calmann Lévy edition. duodecimo form) the novelist tells us that Margaret of Burgundy "arriva effectivement à Amboise, au mois de juillet de l'année 1438, pour épouser le dauphin, auquel elle fut fiancée dans la chapelle du chateau." This is of course an error, inasmuch as the first incidents of the story take place in 1479. Furthermore, the betrothal actually took place, as we learn from the memoirs of Jean de Troyes, in 1483. One may therefore suspect that the error was due to a transposition of the last two figures of the date by the typesetter, which would change 1483 into 1438. An examination of the original manuscript, now in the Lovenjoul Balzac collection at Chantilly, shows that this was the case. In exceptionally distinct characters the date was written 1483. Nevertheless, in spite of the painstaking care that Balzac is known to have given to the correction of proof sheets, and to the revision of his works for later editions, the incorrect date is found, not only in the Revue de Paris (December, 1831) where the story was first published, but in every subsequent edition, both in French and in English, that the writer



⁷ The Tactiks of Ælian; or art of embattailing an army after the Grecian manner. Englished and illustrated with figures and notes by J. B. The exercise military of the English by order of Generall Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, is added. London.[1616]. And The art of embattailing an army; or, the second part of Ælian's Tacticks. Englished and illustrated with figures and observations by J. Bingham. London. 1631.

has been able to examine, including the first edition in book form (Gosselin, 1832), the edition of his complete works published by Houssiaux in 1855, that of Calmann Lévy (1855-1888), and finally the excellent edition, as yet uncompleted, of Longnon and Bouteron, published by Louis Conard. In the last named work, however, the editors have appended a note which reads: "Lapsus ou faute d'impression. Il faut lire: 1483." The volume containing Maître Cornélius (Vol. XXIX) appeared in 1926. This is the first time, so far as the writer can ascertain, that attention has been called to the error, and even at this late date the responsibility for it was not definitely fixed.

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LYTTELTON

A few years ago I picked up from an English bookseller a volume of hand-written poems. On the first page is the title, *Poems by Several Hands*, and the date 1759. In that year the volume was presumably begun, but an examination of the contents shows that the writing extended over several years. Originally there were 362 pages, of which the first twenty-seven have been lost. On the inside of the front cover is the bookplate of James Nelthorpe of Lynford in Norfolk. Although the collection contains a little of everything, it consists chiefly of short poems, usually sentimental, by authors of that time. One, which is marked "unpublished" in the volume and apparently has remained so, has a certain interest, since it was written by one man of note and has another as its subject. I transcribe it accurately.

THE SQUIRRELS OF HAGLEY PARK, TO MISS WARBURTON'S SQUIRREL.

By Lord Lyttelton sitting at the Card-Table.

Captive Brother, break thy chain,
Thy native Liberty regain,
Come and joy with us to rove
O'er ev'ry Branch of ev'ry Grove,
O'er the deep embow'ring Vales,
Fann'd by Zephirs wanton Gales,
O'er the Hills, and o'er the plains,
Of Hagley-Park where nature reigns;
No Tyrant here our right invades,
Free Tenants of these happy shades;
Careless we leap from spray, to spray,
And sport in all the bloom of May.
Captive Brother break thy chain,
Thy native Liberty regain.

THE ANSWER.

My savage Friends ye little know What bliss ye tempt me to forego; No force I need, no galling chain, Fair Sukey's captive to remain; Her Breath is sweeter than the Gale That wafts perfumes o'er Hagley's vale; The straitest Plant that rises there Ye cannot with her Shape compare; Nor ever did the Hand of May, O'er Leaf or Flow'r, such colours lay As paint with Nature's loveliest grace The blooming beauties of her Face. Fed by her gifts, I scorn to taste The Sylvan Nut-Tree's coarse repast. With eager joy at her command, I run to sit upon her hand.—
Nor think that I alone am broke To bend beneath her gentle Yoke;—Behold! proud Hagley's youthful Heir, Who lov'd to range from Fair to Fair, And wild as Squirrel in the Wood, Thought Liberty his highest good; Now tame like me, at Sukey's side, A willing Slave forever tyed.

The author, of course, is George, Lord Lyttelton. Hagley Park was his residence, and the youthful heir was his son Thomas. Thomas Lyttelton became engaged to Miss Warburton in the summer of 1763; but thereafter he traveled on the Continent and became again "wild as squirrel in the wood," if not wilder, and the engagement was broken at some time in 1764. Thus the lyric of the squirrels belongs to one of these two years.

One of Lord Lyttelton's published poems (Chalmers, XIV, p. 178) contains a similar reference to former fickleness contrasted with present and future fidelity. It was addressed to Lucy Fortescue, who became the author's wife; he prophesied more truly about his own affections than about those of his son. It is questionable, indeed, whether Thomas Lyttelton's feeling toward Miss Warburton was ever very similar to the pure and loyal affection which may be ascribed to the squirrel. Among his few poems, published in 1780 after his death, are two that apparently were addressed to Miss Warburton. One, An Invitation to Miss Warb-rt-n, is a conventional and lifeless sentimental poem; but in the other, Thyrsis and Mira: An Ode to Miss War---to--n, the lady is addressed in most insulting and indecent language. 1763 is given as the date of this latter poem; so it was written during or shortly before the engagement.

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A POSSIBLE SOURCE OF BROWNING'S SAUL

Critics are generally agreed that Browning was one of the most original of poets. Yet, in regard to "Saul," several sources, in addition to the Biblical one, have already been pointed out. "Possibly Browning's choice of the subject was a consequence of his life-long admiration of Christopher Smart's Song to David (1763)," writes W. T. Young, an opinion held also by Griffin and Minchin: "Of Smart's long-neglected poem termed by Rossetti a masterpiece of rich imagery, exhaustive resources and reverberant sound, Browning became the great champion. In later days he loved to recite its fervid stanzas to his friends, and in earlier days it was not without influence upon the evolution of his own noble Saul." The same authorities say that "he [Browning] was familiar with Alfieri's drama on the same subject [Saul and David]."

A third poem, which appeared in the decade 1830-1840, by a minor English poet may also have furnished Browning with some suggestions.

There was published in 1840 a slender volume of verse bearing the title, The Hope of the World, and Other Poems, by Charles Mackay (1814-1889). It was dedicated to Samuel Rogers. Among other poems it contained one entitled "Saul and David," which formed one of a series of twelve "sacred melodies" with such titles as "God Said, 'Let There Be Light,' "The Dove of Noah,' "Our Saviour's Lamentation over Jerusalem," and "God in the Storm." Most of these poems had probably been written during Mackay's later boyhood, for at fourteen or fifteen years of age he had submitted a group of them to Mr. Edward Irving, a well-known London preacher. Mackay himself,—and his account seems trustworthy—later described the experience thus:

Mr. Irving said: 'I am pleased to see that you are a reader of your Bible. Among all your compositions, which are full of future promise . . ., that in which you have attempted to dramatize the story of David playing the harp before Saul, to sooth his troubled spirit in a paroxysm of madness—appears to me the best.'4

"Saul and David" had been published by Mackay, probably in

¹ W. T. Young, editor, Robert Browning: a Selection of Poems (1835-1864), (1911), note to "Saul," p. 216.

² W. Hall Griffin and Harry C. Minchin, The Life of Robert Browning, with Notices of His Writings, His Family, and His Friends (1910), p. 6.

³ Ibid., p. 129.

⁴ Charles Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections (1877), I, 25.

1837, in a thin volume, *Poems*, but in its final form in *The Hope of the World* it had been "so much altered and added to, as in fact to form a new poem" (Preface).

It is quite probable that Browning saw this volume of poems by Mackay; Edmund Gosse says that "for the next two or three years [from 1837 on] Browning lived very quietly at Hatcham, writing under the rose trees of the large garden, riding on 'York,' his uncle's horse, and steeping himself in all literature, modern and ancient, English and exotic."

Were it not for a similarity of treatment of subject matter, one might say that the two poems, Browning's "Saul" and Mackay's "Saul and David," have nothing in common. Externally they are quite dissimilar. Mackay's poem is a lyric, only fifty lines long; in seven short stanzas of six and eight lines; varied in rhyme; and of iambic tetrameter. Browning's "Saul" is a dramatic monologue, 336 lines in length; in nineteen stanzas,—with few exceptions, long; and in rhyming couplets of anapestic pentameter.

Further external evidence seems against a possible influence. Other sources have been indicated above, although Browning's "Saul" seems much more like Mackay's poem than that by Christopher Smart. The division between stanzas IX and X of "Saul"—the two parts separated in composition by a period of ten years—indicates that Browning's poem was not written, and perhaps not conceived, as a sustained piece of work. Furthermore, the Brownings had not a high opinion of Mackay as a poet. Writing to Elizabeth Barrett, under postmark of January 12, 1846, Browning rejects the critical praise of such journals as the Athenaeum because they have praised Mackay, casts doubt on the originality of two of the latter's poems, the "Dead Pan" and the "Song of the Bell," and mentions him as a prose writer. Elizabeth Barrett, in reply, under postmark of January 14, 1846, adds in a postscript:

But for the man [referring to Mackay]—To call him a poet! A prince and potentate of Commonplaces, such as he is!—I have seen his name in the Athenaeum attached to a lyric or two... poems, correctly called fugitive,—more than usually fugitive—but I never heard before that his hand was in the prose department.

Despite this rather convincing evidence, the similarity between

⁵ Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XXII (Supplement), (1909), article by Edmund Gosse, p. 308.

⁶ The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett, 1845-1846, Vol. I, pp. 386, 393, 398.

"Saul" and Mackay's "Saul and David" in subject matter and treatment deserves notice and comment. The content of the latter is, briefly, as follows:

Stanza 1—Saul, in his royal hall, is overcome by the spirit of evil, which manifests itself in a "madness on the kingly brow" and a "frenzy in the soul."

Stanza 2—David, the shepherd-minstrel, comes with his lyre, "all radiant with prophetic fire," and begins "a bold and joyous song."

Stanza 3—David sings of the pleasures of wine; youth is fleeting, time passes to return no more; joy has its grief, love its sting; but wine is a source of pleasure and rejoicing.

Stanza 4—Though Saul answers the song with a smile, his madness and frenzy continue.

Stanza 5—David sings of the beauty of a loved one, how gloom should find light in her eyes, how an aching forehead should rest upon her breast, how

Love is the solace and relief, Love is the balm for care and grief.

Stanza 6—Still Saul remains motionless, his madness continues, and David prepares to sing another song.

Stanza 7—David sings of the goodness, greatness, and loving-kindness of the Lord; how the heart that sues for pardon need no longer weep for past errors; and how God can heal a suffering soul and cheer it in the day of sorrow. This time the song has a different effect:

The monarch heard—then smiled—then wept— The evil spirit pass'd away.

Two points of similarity will be noticed between the two poems of Browning and Mackay. (1) In each David sings different songs before Saul, trying to drive from him the evil spirit, and in each the effects of the different songs on the king are described. (2) Mackay's David sings of the pleasures of wine, Browning's David sings of the "wild joys of living," of the prime vigor of manhood—eating, drinking, hunting, swimming,—both poets describing sensual pleasures. Mackay's David sings of love, albeit an earthly love embodied in the form of a beautiful woman; Browning's David sings of love as a spiritualized passion—the love of father, mother, brothers, and kindred. Mackay's David sings of the consolations of religion, through the love of God for man in granting pardon

and bringing comfort in sorrow; Browning's David sings also of the consolations of religion, of God's love for man, of God's willingness to suffer for man and, through this suffering, to grant man immortality.

In some respects, then, Mackay's "Saul and David" seems like an outline, a framework, an embryonic form of Browning's "Saul" because of this similarity in the details of subject matter and treatment. In all other respects, Browning's poem is infinitely superior,—in description, in characterization, in development of ideas, in poetic treatment.

The choice of subject—David playing a harp before Saul—by both poets is not unusual, for, as Edward Berdoe quotes from Heber's Spirit of Hebrew Poetry, "more than one poet has availed himself of the beauty of this situation." But the similarity of incidents and of treatment in the two poems does seem somewhat unusual. This similarity may be coincidental. But there seems to be sufficient reason for believing that "Saul and David," by Charles Mackay, was at least an indirect source of "Saul," that Browning read the former poem, and that much of its content was retained, perhaps unconsciously, in his retentive memory. More than that,—or, in other words, that the former poem was a direct, definite source of the latter and a positive influence on it,—surely no one can assert from the nature of the evidence.

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QUERY ON CHAUCER'S BURGESSES

The five Burgesses whom Chaucer describes in the *Prologue*, and then forgets, have been mentioned a number of times by Chaucerian scholars, but no one seems to have discussed them in their relation to the *Canterbury Tales* as a whole. Is it not possible that the poet may have inserted them as an afterthought, when the *Prologue* had been finished and the *Tales* were well on their way to completion?

In the *Prologue* the poet has lumped these five tradesmen together, describing them only as a group. None of them is individualized; "they were clothed alle in o liveree" (A 363). They belong to the same fraternity and have the same sort of gear. No other group is so hastily characterized.

In the Tales themselves, we find that, of all the members of the

pilgrimage mentioned in the *Prologue*, only seven are not called upon to tell a story; only seven are not mentioned in the links. These seven are the five Burgesses, the Yeoman, and the Plowman. The Yeoman belongs to the group with the Knight and Squire, each of whom tells a tale and appears in the links. The Plowman is grouped with the Parson, who tells the longest tale in the series. The Burgesses are the only group of whom no member appears after the *Prologue*. It is the Reeve, not the Carpenter, who replies to the *Miller's Tale* in derision of carpenters in general.

Since the Burgesses are described very briefly and as a group, and since they are entirely omitted from the *Tales* and links, let us see how the *Prologue* would read if the Burgesses were removed. Chaucer describes the Sergeant of Lawe as a cautious, wise man.

Of fees and robes hadde he many oon. So greet a purchasour was nowher noon. (A 317-318)

Professor Manly has pointed out¹ that the Sergeant was really a great man. There were only forty-eight listed in the entire reign of Edward III, and twenty-eight of these were withdrawn as judges. They were rich and privileged. After the Sergeant, we find

A Frankeleyn was in his compaignye. (A 331)

This Franklin was a lover of food,—good food. He liked a sop in wine,

For he was Epicurus owne sone. (A 336)

His bread, his ale were always of the same excellency. No man had better wine, and his home was never without baked meat. There was so much food in his house that it seemed as if it snowed meat and drink. Here we have two men journeying together. One is a rich,—not ordinary lawyer or solicitor,—but Sergeant of the Lawe, accustomed to the best London could offer. The other is a country gentleman who loves to eat. What should logically follow?

A Cook they hadde with hem for the nones To boille the chiknes with the mary-bones, And poudre-marchant tart, and galyngale. (A 379-381)

The Sergeant and the Franklin are not accustomed to hardships, and know very well how few are the chances for appetizing meals at a roadside inn. They would naturally take along a cook and have all the comforts of home—mainly, good food and plenty of it.

¹ John M. Manly, Some New Light on Chaucer, New York, 1926, p. 134.



Thus we see how smoothly the *Prologue* runs on after the apparently irrelevant description of the Burgesses has been withdrawn.

As for these Burgesses, they would scarcely be able to take their own cook. They did not belong to the wealthy guilds, and were in all probability saving what money they had "for to been an alderman." Cooks were prohibitively expensive, often costing one hundred dollars for a single night.²

Assuming, then, that the Burgesses were a later insertion, what object would Chaucer have had for making the change? the Prologue was being written,3 the victuallers, or protectionists, were in power. But since John of Gaunt had given his protection to the non-victualling party, the poet may have thought it would not be proper to put into the Prologue those companies to which his patron was opposed. After 1391, however, the victualler-nonvictualler controversy died down, and Chaucer would have felt at liberty to introduce into his Canterbury Tales some members of the guilds, a class which he had formerly neglected. In that case, his choice would naturally enough fall to the group protected by his old friend. At the same time, he would not care to choose from those companies which had definitely opposed the king by petitioning parliament to redress their grievances against Mayor Brembre, the king's protegé. As Professor Kuhl has pointed out, Chaucer chose from the largest of the non-victualling guilds which were not involved in the political squabbles of the day.5

This view would be in harmony with the opinions expressed by many Chaucerian scholars. Professor French,⁶ following Professor Tatlock,⁷ states, "The generally accepted belief is that the *Prologue* was begun before more than two or three of the stories had been written, and that it was completed before Chaucer proceeded fur-

² Cf. George Unwin, The Guilds and Companies of London, London, 1925, p. 195. The Brewers paid their cook 23 s. for a dinner in 1425.

³ Probably 1386-1388. Cf. R. D. French, A Chaucer Handbook, New York, 1927, p. 203; and E. P. Kuhl, "Chaucer's Burgesses," Wisconsin Academy of Science, vol. XVIII, p. 652, note.

⁴ Kuhl, op. cit., pp. 652-653.

⁵ There was no carpenters' guild. Cf. Kuhl, op. cit., pp. 657-658. For a discussion of the guilds in politics, see the introduction to Letter-Book H, Calender of Letter-Books, London, 1907, edited by R. R. Sharpe.

⁶ Op. cit., p. 202.

⁷ J. S. P. Tatlock, The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works, Chaucer Society, 1907, pp. 142-143.

ther with his collection of *Tales*." Miss Hammond⁹ and Professor Frederick Tupper¹⁰ have already suggested that Chaucer added or reworked the portraits of the Reeve, Miller, Maneiple, Summoner, and Pardoner in order to add dramatic incident to the *Tales*. In the light of these remarks, therefore, it is at least possible that the Burgesses may have been inserted as an afterthought.

University of Iowa

CARROLL CAMDEN, JR.

⁸ Also ef. E. P. Hammond, Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual, New York, 1908, pp. 250-251.

⁹ Op. cit., p. 254 ff.

^{10 &}quot;The Quarrels of the Canterbury Pilgrims," J.E.G.P., vol. XIV, p. 268.

BOOK REVIEWS

Shakespeare Improved, by Hazelton Spencer. Harvard University Press, Cambridge: 1927. XII + 406 pp.

Although the ostensible, and indeed the main, purpose of this work is to discuss the Restoration versions of Shakespeare, the author has seized the opportunity to retell the story of the London theatres. The story has been told before, and substantially as we have it here; yet the present narrative is compact and clear, and has the merit of incorporating the results of recent research, and of indicating the trend of present discussion. The author's own contributions are few. He repeats his conjecture of 1926 (Modern Philology, XXIV, 173-180) that when Pepys wrote "Blackfryers" on Jan. 29, 1661, he really meant Whitefriars and hence Salisbury Court. Granting the fact of the initial error by Pepys, the suggestion disposes of the claim that "Blackfryers' was a fifth theatre not hitherto included in our calculations. thing is also done to clear up the peregrinations of the companies during the first years of the Restoration. In general, however, the fog which envelops so many aspects of the period is not dissipated in any important particular. The treatment of the mechanical side of the Restoration stage makes clear, even as it repeats what is already known, how much remains uncertain. Again, consideration of the personal side of the stage, which has engaged the attention of so many biographers from the beginning, is still hampered by the fragmentariness of the casts which we are presumably lucky to have at all.

Most interesting of his contributions is his theory, expounded at several points, of the relation between "players' quartos" and the contemporary The stage, he thinks, paid little or no attention to the folios, or to the pre-Restoration quartos, referring instead to what he calls the "pre-Wars', quartos. The Restoration quartos represent, he thinks, the contemporary stage version. Closely examined, however, his statements of this last relationship (of Restoration quartos to stage versions) are but repeated assertions, qualified, as on page 176, where he says, "he [the Restoration republisher of Shakespeare] went presumably to the theatre and secured the actors' latest version." The theory, attractive as it is, cannot be considered proved on the evidence presented. But, even granted that a quarto represents the latest stage version, this of course does not prove that the theatrical company did not on some other occasion make use of some other version. Indeed, his own theory of the probable gradual alteration of the text of The Taming of the Shrew over a period of years into Sauny the Scot, with another period of years following the first performance of Sauny the Scot before its publication shows the hazardous nature of such an assumption.

Part II consists of a workmanlike summary and estimate of the Restoration texts, as adapted by D'Avenant, Dryden, Tate, and others. The synopses and

points of difference from Shakespeare will be found convenient, while the generalizations as to style are amply illustrated by quotations.

One would not wish to be over-critical of the author's obvious attempt to popularize his material in the manner of so many contemporary authors. In dealing with the delightful personalities of the Restoration stage, such a method may be justified. The entire second section, however, made up of summaries, comparisons, and technical discussions, can in no way be made interesting to a popular audience; and even in the first part there are passages where references to our contemporary stage and its stars, likely so soon to need footnotes for themselves, seem labored and superfluous.

The book is handsomely printed and illustrated.

The University of Iowa

BARTHOLOW V. CRAWFORD

A Voyage to the South Seas in His Majesty's Ship the Wager in the Years 1740-1741. By John Bulkeley and John Cummins gunner and carpenter of the Wager. With an introduction by Arthur D. Howden Smith. 212 pp. McBride and Company, New York, 1927.

The influence of the great voyages upon English literature is by no means as yet fully appreciated. Such a monumental work as Professor Lowes's Road to Xanadu reveals the astonishing transmutation of explorers' accounts into poetry by a single poet. The wreck of the Wager off the coast of Chile on May 14, 1741 belongs among those stirring events that not only produced exciting journals and narratives, but that later reflected themselves in poetry.

At least seven narratives of this disaster were written. These fall into two groups: one concerning the party that returned to England by sailing south in the reconstructed longboat around the Horn, the other concerning the party that stayed with the captain and later went north, became prisoners of the Spanish, and returned to England variously. Of the ship's scurvy-ridden crew of a hundred fifty-two sailors and marines, only thirty-seven ever saw England again. All accounts are tales of unbelievable hardships: famine, disorder, discouragement, death, and remorseless, unceasing gales on the worst seacoast in the world.

Of these narratives, the most interesting and authentic is the journal of the ship's gunner, John Bulkeley, published first in 1743 as A Voyage to the South Seas... 1740-1741, by Bulkeley and Cummins, and now reprinted as the second volume of the Argonaut Series. This journal is not only a carefully kept record of the arduous anabasis south through the Straits of Magellan, obviously modelled upon Sir John Narborough's Journal of a Voyage..., but is a kind of legal document representing the case of determined seamen who knew that their honest attempt to preserve their lives would be interpreted as mutiny at home. None of the other accounts was written like this one day by day on ground and deck. None of them has the simple eloquence, the ring of truth of the two hundred gaunt pages of this journal.

The best of the other accounts is that of the Honourable John Byron (grandfather of the poet), midshipman of the Wager, who recounts years later the still greater hardships of the captain's party. This should be read along with Bulkeley and Cummins's Voyage as a supplement. Furthermore, Anson's Voyage Round the World completes the setting, for the Wager was part of Anson's famous squadron.

Thus John Bulkeley's journal is part of the epic-literature of voyages. It also rubs closer to great literature. In Chapter VIII of Anson's Voyage the reader will find the principal source of Cowper's powerful poem, The Castaway. After reading John Bulkeley and John Byron, he will see reflections of the loss of the Wager in the second canto of Don Juan. And if he reads the explanatory first chapter of Anson, he will like Smollett the better for having taken Roderick Random to the West Indies. The last escape of Bulkeley was the sober refusal of the command of the Royal George, which later sank disastrously and was commemorated in Cowper's On the Loss of the Royal George. University of Buffalo

WILLARD H. BONNER

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CONTENTS

A Contribution to the Theory of the English	
Renaissance Hardin Craig	321
Goethe, Heine and Emilio Castelar Franz Schneider	334
Did Byron Write the Poem	
To Lady Caroline Lamb? Andrew J. Green	338
Carlyle's Interpretation of	
Kant Charles Frederick Harrold	345
Textual and Other Notes on	
The Winter's Tale Samuel A. Tannenbaum	358
Notes on Smollett Allan D. McKillop	368
Legal Precedent in Athenian Courts Alfred P. Dorjahn	375
The Merry Wives of Windsor:	
Two New Analogues Robert S. Forsythe	390
Brief Articles and Notes	
Actors' Names in the Contention and	
2 Henry VI Madeleine Doran	399
A Note on the Word "Medium" Hermann S. Ficke	400
First Lay Chancellor of England Allen R. Benham	402
A Note on García Gutiérrez and Ossian N. B. Adams	402

Book Reviews

Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (R. C. F.). L. C. Martin, The Poems, English, Latin, and Greek, of Richard Crashaw (Austin Warren). P. O. Bodding, Santal Folk Tales (Henning Larsen). Aschehlong & Co., Festskrift til Hjalmar Falk (Henning Larsen). Solomon Liptzin, Lyrio Pioneers in Modern Germany. Studies in German Social Poetry (Etnst Rose). Stephen Gaselee, An Anthology of Medieval Latin Verse (Franklin H. Potter). Karl Pomeroy Harrington, Medieval Latin (Franklin H. Potter). Charles H. Beeson, A Primer of Medieval Latin (Franklin H. Potter). Joseph Calmette, Philippe de Commynes: Memoires (Walther I. Brandt). Harris Francis Fletcher, Milton's Semitic Studies and some manifestations of them in his poetry (Hermann S. Ficke). E. K. Chambers, Arthur of Britain (Nellie Slayton Aurner). Frances Theresa Russell, One Word More on Browning (H. C.). Hugh A. Smith, Main Currents of Modern French Drama (Charles E. Young). E. H. C. Oliphant, The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher (T. M. Patrott). Mark Ellen Chase, Thomas Hardy from Serial to Novel (Sam B. Sloan).

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A CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEORY OF THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE¹

By HARDIN CRAIG University of Iowa

Among the many factors which have been recognized as effective in the creation and growth of the Renaissance the one chosen for emphasis in this paper is the promise of unbelievably good things held out to those who acquired learning. From this point of view the Renaissance in England came, in some measure, as the result of propaganda. Perhaps there is no reason to doubt that the Renaissance in western Europe in all its principal centers, Italy, France, Spain, the Low Countries, and England, arose out of practically the same conditions and assumed in various centers characteristic local or national differences.

John Addington Symonds and other scholars have stressed the relative importance of the classical revival, but even in Symonds there is no disposition to make light of other factors. "It was scholarship," he says, "first and last, which revealed to men the wealth of their own minds." "Contact with Islam in the south and east, diplomatic relations with the Turks, familiarity with the mixed races of Spain, and commerce with the nations of the north, had widened the sympathies of the Italians, and taught them to regard humanity as one large family." Although he gives the Revival of Learning as the first cause of the Renaissance, he mentions the following considerations as the second cause: "Instead of empire and papacy, the sun and moon of the medieval system, a federation of peoples, separate in type and divergent in interests, yet bound together by common tendencies, common culture and common efforts, came into existence." Symonds also allows for

¹ A paper read before Comparative Literature Group V of *The Modern Language Association of America* at its annual meeting in 1927.

² Short History of the Renaissance in Italy, New York, 1893, pp. 7-18.

³ The Renaissance in Italy, Vol. II, pp. 4-10.

⁴ Article on the Renaissance, 11th Ed., Vol. XXIII, pp. 83 ff.

the force of reaction against the dominant ideas of the Middle Ages, then becoming obsolete. The late Professor R. C. Jebb in the Cambridge Modern History⁵ dwells particularly on the Revival of Learning in two aspects: "the recovery of a lost culture and the renewed diffusion of a liberal spirit which for centuries had been dead or sleeping." There is no doubt that the Renaissance in England owed much to the actual and immediate influence of the classics in the sense in which Symonds and Jebb understood it. Miss Edith Sichel sees the Renaissance as "the result of a universal impulse, and that impulse was preceded by something like a revelation, a revelation of intellect and of the possibilities of man."

Burckhardt, as is well known, takes a much less mystical view. He stresses the development of cities and the equality of classes.

We must insist upon it, as one of the chief propositions of this book, that it was not the revival of antiquity alone, but its union with the genius of the Italian people, which achieved the conquest of the western world. . . . But the great and general enthusiasm of the Italians for classical antiquity did not display itself before the fourteenth centruy. For this a development of civic life was required, which took place only in Italy, and there not till then. It was needful that noble and burger should first learn to dwell together on equal terms, and that a social world should arise which felt the want of culture and had the leisure and means to obtain it.

Almost no historian of the Renaissance fails to call attention to the importance of the printing press as a means of stimulating through a more general education the activities of the Renaissance.⁹

The Renaissance in England was obviously moral, political, and religious, like the Renaissance in the Low Countries; but it was also intensely ambitious and practical. The latter quality appears also strongly in Italy and France. When any issue presented itself, the Englishman of the Sixteenth Century tended to choose that aspect of it which had most to offer. To realize this commonplace

⁵ Vol. I, pp. 523-584.

⁶ See Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. IV, ch. i, "Translators" by Charles Whibley; also Vol. III, ch. i, "Englishmen and the Classical Renaissance" by T. M. Lindsay. Conley, C. H., The First English Translators of the Classics. Yale Univ. Press, 1927. Also Jebb, loc. cit., pp. 579-580, where the author quotes Ascham's letter on the revival of learning at Cambridge; and Gee, J. A., The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset. Yale Univ. Press, 1928, and the references there given, for a discussion of Fisher's and Fox's establishment of humanism at Cambridge and Oxford respectively.

⁷ The Renaissance, New York and London, n.d., p. 8.

s Burckhardt, Jacob. The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy, trans. by S. G. C. Middlemore. London and New York, 1904, pp. 171-5; also pp. 359 ff.

⁹ See, for example, Jusserand, J. J. A Literary History of the English People. New York and London, 1906. Vol. II, pp. 26-40.

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one has only to consider Francis Bacon and his ambition to carry to completion man's domination of nature. There was on the one side an element of faith and on the other an element of promise. What the Eighteenth Century and the Nineteenth Century had to offer as the reward of learning was as nothing to what the Sixteenth Century professed itself able to do. The science or pseudo-science of the English Renaissance was ready to explain everything. claims were infinite. It could cure man's body, save his soul, provide him with foreknowledge, develop his power of mind, make his fortune in money or love, arm him against passion in himself or deceit in others, and allocate him not only in the material but in the spiritual world. In order that man might avail himself of these opportunities it was necessary that he should be free and should know how to read. The invention of printing and the cheapness of printed books had made provision for the latter, and the former was provided for in the freedom of the will with which he was endowed by his theology and his psychology. He had before him both the necessity and the opportunity of seeking his own salvation.

What happened in the English Renaissance was not a supercession of old ideas by new. It is doubtful if that has ever so happened or could happen. It was rather a development of the implications which learning, classical and scholastic, had always had. dieval world had had a large share of the doctrines of antiquity, an extensive body of dicta, well organized by St. Thomas Aquinas and the Schoolmen, for the explanation and coördination of the visible universe and the solution of the problem of living the human The new learning was mainly engaged in showing the possibilities of the old. There was nothing destructive of foundations until the time of Bacon and Hobbes. Not only had the seven liberal arts been greatly amplified and improved after the re-introduction into Europe of the writings of Aristotle and other ancients, but in the Thirteenth century there had been added to the curriculum the three philosophies. The effect of the introduction of the three philosophies into the curriculum was to create the widespread knowledge of cosmology and psychology which is found among learned men in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth centuries.10

¹⁰ That the content of the schools was as stated appears plainly from the statutes of the University of Paris and by implication in many other documents. (Rashdell, Hastings. The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1895, Vol. I, pp. 433-462 et passim.) An idea of what was actually done by way of preparation for examinations, the common corpus of instruction



We are familiar with the Renaissance belief in a perfectly organized universe, every part of which had its place, its functions, and its inter-relations. There were the microcosm with its intricate correspondences with the macrocosm, the hierarchy of the angels and the theory of disembodied or original spirits, the correspondences between both and the universe, the doctrine of spirits, humors, and temperaments, and the vast belief in analogies and types according to which everything on earth had its significance and every evil its antidote,—the whole constituting a grand machine through which Providence or fate operated.11 The Renaissance assisted men to believe all this, to believe in a world immediately under God's guidance and having about it possibilities of perfection and achievement ready to yield to virtue and reason, which were one and the same. Common men had never before known the possibilities of this world as plainly revealed by science and philosophy and had never before had a chance to exploit them. One can understand the bright zeal of the men of the Renaissance when they learned of this bonanza.

In reviewing what the various sciences had to offer let us begin with the ancient science of logic. Throughout all the activities of the Romans and the Schoolmen the logic of Aristotle had remained essentially unchanged. It carried with it, and still carries with it, a flattering promise of power. Even the changes of Ramus are not essential. He merely inverted the traditional order and treated invention before judgment. What he does is to announce a prac-

of the time, appears in Margarita Philosophica (Editions, Friburg, 1503; Strassburg, 1504 bis, 1508, 1512, 1515; Basle, 1508, 1517, 1523?, 1535, 1583; Venice, (Italian trans., 1599), which presents complete treatises on grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy (to which is added astrology), together with Philosophia triceps: Naturalis, Rationalis, and Moralis. Philosophia Rationalis is mainly psychological, and of course physiological. Vives protests against the use of such secondary works as margaritae and recommends resort to original sources (Watson, Foster. Vives: On Education. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1913, p. cviii, referring to De Causis Corruptarum Artium. Opera, Valencian ed., vi, p. 61).

¹¹ The Heptaplus of Pico della Mirandola presents such an organization. A threefold division of essences, angelic or intelligible, celestial, and sublunary, with man, the microcosm, constitute the universe. He finds correspondence between the nine spheres of corruptible forms and the nine celestial spheres, between seraphic intelligence and the sun, between cherubic intelligence and the moon, and throughout a metaphysical interpretation of the Ptolemaic cosmogeny. He adds to this the Platonic theory of an intelligible world behind the phenomenal, the Christian idea of a heaven, and the Pseudo-Dionysiac nine orders of angels as above corresponding to the nine spheres, as of course the Platonic doctrine of microcosm and macrocosm. All this he applies to the Mosaic genesis.

tical end and declare (with Faustus), Bene disserere est finis logices. Logic as he expounds it is not only an instrument for the ascertainment of truth and the detection of error, but also a means of interpreting the word of God, a veritable key to the mind of God.12 The claims of the followers of Ramus are also most extensive. Dudley Fenner, The Artes of Logike and Rethorike, 1584, offers a method of government in the family, the upbringing of children, and the clarification of the Scriptures. Abraham Fraunce, Lawiers Logike, 1588 and two other issues, though drawing his examples from Spenser and the poets, claims to set to rights the analysis of legal causes. The logic of Aristotle in the form given it by Melancthon held sway over the Protestant world; but even Thomas Blundeville (The Art of Logike, 1599, 1611, 1619) and Thomas Wilson (The Rule of Reason, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1563, 1567, 1584?, 1593), both of whom are Aristotelians, are not behind the Ramists in their claims. Logic to them was a study by means of which a Protestant man might find out the truth, elude the devil and his agents, and thus achieve salvation.

The claims of ethics were stupendous. It told men how to be successful as well as how to be good, and was popular for that reason. These claims are to be found in Boethius and throughout the Middle Ages, but it required the re-introduction of Aristotelian ethics, as interpreted by the Italians, to make the subject sufficiently enticing. There were two methods of ethical study side by side in the latter half of the Sixteenth Century. There were the books of the Sayings of the Wise, to which the *Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers* occupied a somewhat original position. Such books continued to be made and remade, printed and reprinted, throughout the Sixteenth Century and most of the next.¹³ About the middle of

¹² Ramus was translated into English three times before 1640: first, by M. R. Makylmenaeum, 1574; secondly, by A. Wotton, 1626; thirdly, by R. Fage, 1632.

¹³ The Dictes was issued four times by Caxton, 1477 bis, 1480, 1489, and once by Wynkyn de Worde, 1528. Perhaps the most significant body of work in this field is that of William Baldwin and Thomas Palfreyman. Baldwin issued in 1547 A Treatise of Morall Philosophie, contaynyng the Sayinges of the Wyse. This was reissued in 1550 and again between 1550 and 1555, one of the reissues having been augmented by Thomas Palfreyman. In 1555 Baldwin issued a fourth edition and, in the dedication to the Earl of Hertford, protests against the re-handling of his materials by Palfreyman. The undaunted Palfreyman issued a new edition in 1557. Tottel issued the book again in 1564 as "twise augmented by T. Paulfreyman & and now once again enlarged by the first aucthor." Another edition, "ye third time enlarged by T. Paulfreyman," appeared in 1567, with re-issues in 1575 and 1579. T.

the century the Ethics of Aristotle appeared and no doubt became more popularly known.¹⁴ Aristotelian ethics was not, however, read so much in its original form as in adaptations. There was a flood of Italian and French ethical works increasing as the Sixteenth Century went on. It is these which interpret the possibilities of ethical study. The Sixteenth Century placed before itself the ideal of developing the different faculties of man, the ideal of universality, and there was nothing in their psychology which precluded achievement on equal terms by every human soul, since the soul, as a divine substance, was illimitable and needed only to realize itself through the vesture of the flesh.

Perhaps the subject that concerned ethical thinkers most was the qualities and functions of the perfect prince and the perfect courtier, a subject still uppermost in the mind of Francis Bacon, as witnessed by his Advice to Sir George Villiers Afterwards Duke of Buckingham and many other writings. The Sixteenth Century treated the subject of the perfect prince with a meticulousness of detail rarely equaled in the world's literature.¹⁵

An indication that the learning of the age sifted down to the plain people from the classes ordinarily called educated is furnished

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Este put out the book as for the fourth time enlarged by Palfreyman, and there were later issues in 1587, 1591, 1596, 1600, 1610, 1620? (the sixth time enlarged), 1635?, 1640?. Richard Taverner, The Garden of Wysdom is also important. It appeared in 1539 bis, 1540? (augmented); a second book in 1539; both books together twice by 1550 and again in 1555? Taverner was also the compiler of the most popular book of the adages and apothegms of Erasmus (issued also in other forms frequently in both Latin and English), Prouerbes or Adagies with newe addictions gathered out of the Chiliades of Erasmus, 1539 bis, 1545, 1547, 1550, 1552, 1560, 1569. There were also of course numerous forms of the Distiches of Cato and many other books for school use.

¹⁴ The Ethiques of Aristotle, trans. by J. Wilkinson, 1547.

¹⁵ Take, for example these books: Laurence Humphrey, The Nobles, or Of Nobilitye, 1563; Matthieu Coignet, Politique Discourse upon Trueth and Lying, trans. by Sir Edward Hoby, 1586; Peter de la Primaudaye, The French Academie, trans. by T. B. Bowes, 1586, 1589, 1594, 1602, 1614 (including a third volume translated by J. Dolman), 1618 (the whole); Philippe de Mornay, The True Knowledge of a Mans owne selfe, trans. by A. Munday, 1602; and many other works by de Mornay; Remigio Nannini, Civill Considerations, trans. from the French of Gabriel Chappuys by W. T., 1601; Girolamo Cardano, Cardanus Comforte, trans. by T. Bedingfield, 1573, 1576; Lodowick Bryskett, A Discourse of Civill Life, 1606, based on the second part of Giraldi's De gli Hecatommithi (See Henry R. Plomer and Tom Peete Cross, The Life and Correspondence of Lodowick Bryskett. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1927, pp. 77-84); Thomas Blundeville's Three Morall Treatises (trans. from Plutarch's Moralia), 1580; Guillaume Du Vair, The Moral Philosophie of the Stociks, trans. by Thomas James (?), 1597; Sir Richard Barckley, A Discourse of the Felicitie of Man, 1603, 1631.

by a quite marvelous book of morals for ordinary citizens, the titlepage of which indicates its scope: The Court of Good Counsel. Wherein is set down the true Rules, how a man should choose a good Wife from a bad. Wherein is also expressed the great care that Parents should have, for the Bestowing of their Children in Marriage: And likewise how Children ought to behave themselves towards their Parents: And howe Maisters ought to governe their Servants, and how Servants ought to be obedient towards their Maisters, 1607.

The literature of politics is of course closely related to the literature of ethics, particularly to that part of ethics which had to do with the perfect prince and courtier. But the subject of politics in general held out promises of well-being in peace and war which no nation, having faith, would willingly disregard. The prevailing interest was moralistic and practical. Of the books on the courtier which made their way into England, or were written in England, emphasis is laid on those which present the statesman rather than the man of manners. Castiglione's Il Cortegiano was far more influential in England than was Della Casa's Galateo, the other most popular Italian book of the type. The difference of emphasis of these two books, the latter on the courtly character proper, the former on the statesman and man of affairs, is the one to which I wish to call attention. Hoby's translation of the Courtier was published in 1561, 1577, 1588, and 1603. R. Peterson's translation of Galateo was published but once, 1576. English courtly writings usually resemble The Courtier rather than Galateo; as, for example, Sir Thomas Elvot's The Governour, which was printed eight times in the Sixteenth Century (1531, 1537, 1544, 1546, 1553, 1557, 1565, There were many other books of the same trend, such as Sir William Segar's The Booke of Honor and Armes, 1590, and Honor, Military and Civill, 1602; and the anonymous The Institution of a Gentleman, 1555, 1568.

Polydore Vergil certainly did much to establish the governmental tradition of the Tudors. He had definite ideas of the function of the historiographer and so shaped and pointed the events of the reigns preceding that of Henry VII that he was followed in his conception of the nature of kingship and the validity of the Tudor right by Hall, Fox, Burnet, Strype, Holinshed, and the authors of *The Mirror for Magistrates*, as well as by Daniel, Drayton, Warner, and the main body of the historical dramatists. Cromwell and the

men he influenced were avowed students of Machiavelli, whose influence, on its serious and unprejudiced side, continued down to Bacon himself. Croft's edition of The Governour and subsequent discoveries with reference to sources reveal Sir Thomas Elyot's familiarity with a great body of mainly Italian literature on the royal theme. John Poynet, Bishop of Worcester, published (possibly at Strassburg) A Short Treatise of Polityke Power in 1556, which was of enough importance to be again reprinted in London in 1639. William Thomas's The Historie of Italie is a political document and went through at least two editions (1549, 1561). Thomas Bedingfield's preface to his translation of The Florentine Historie, 1595, shows his serious political purpose. Einstein calls attention to the political ideas which underlay John Leslie's A Defense of the Honour of Marie Quene of Scotlande (1569, 1571, 1584) and Charles Merbury's A Briefe Discourse of Royall Monarchie, 1581.16 The breadth, fairness and learning of that shrewd and plausible book attributed to Parsons the Jesuit has not been fully recognized. It is entitled A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of England, is dedicated to the Earl of Essex and was published in 1594. These books have reference to English politics.

In the wider field of political thinking who can estimate the influence of Guevara? The Sixteenth Century knew no more popular books than The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius translated by Lord Berners (1535, 1537, 1539, 1542, 1546, 1553, 1557 bis, 1573, 1586) and The Diall of Princes translated by Thomas North (1557, 1568, 1582, 1586). There were of course many books on manners, some of them well known, but it has seemed to me that serious treatises on civil life were more numerous and more widely read. Guicciardini, for example, had a great vogue in England. The Historie of Guicciardini, conteining the Warres of Italy was translated by Geoffrey Fenton and published twice in the year 1579, in 1594, and again in 1618. A Briefe Collection of all the Notable Things in the Hystorie of Guicciardine was published in 1595. Nannini's Civill Considerations upon many and sundrie Histories (from the French of Chappuys in 1601) is based "principallie upon those of Guicciardini." There was also The Two Discourses of Master F. Guicciardin (1595), supposed to contain anti-papistical matters



¹⁶ Einstein, Lewis. The Italian Renaissance in England, New York, 1913, p. 295 ff.

suppressed in the Italian editions. One of the really important political treatises of the time was written by an Englishman, Sir Thomas Smith, whose *De Republica Anglorum* had been published ten times by 1640 (1583, 1584, 1589, 1594, 1601, 1607, 1612, 1621, 1625, 1640). Jean Bodin's *The Six Books of a Commonweale*, a book of wide scope and perfect Renaissance political point of view, was translated by Richard Knolles and published sumptuously in 1606. One might also mention the widely circulated writings of King James I or dwell on the influence of More's *Utopia*, a book of everlasting political significance.

The political element in pure literature is also striking. The political as well as the moral significance of the Faerie Queene has long been recognized. The same thing is of course true of the historical plays of Shakespeare. Indeed, taking the Elizabethan drama as a whole, it may be said that in its serious aspect it deals preferably with kings, princes, courts, and courtiers.¹⁷

Nothing need be said about the claims of alchemy, but I should like to cite one illustration of the respect in which the science of prognostication was held by scholarly men. Robert Record's Castell of Knowledge was published in 1556. The preface indicates the solid ground on which judicial astronomy stood. It declares that man is given eyes in order that he may see the heavens and know the importance of his earthly life. God wills that nothing shall happen on earth without warning. There is no great change in the world,—alteration of empire, dearth, penury, scarcely the fall of princes, of which God does not premonish man by signs in the This is too well known to need illustration. Many men besides Noah might have seen the signs of the approaching Flood. Record cites portents in the cases of Ptolemy and Manlius and at the founding and fall of Rome. The commander of the Atheian expedition against Syracuse blindfolded his eyes so that he might disregard the portent of the eclipse of the sun as his expedition was setting out on its disastrous voyage. All these examples show how necessary it is to observe the heavens; since, however, he is not a judicial astronomer, he will devote himself to the explanation of the sphere and thus render the calculations of those who interpret God's will more accurate. He then proceeds to write a sound treatise



¹⁷ Chapman's frank embodiment in his plays of European political as well as moral theory has been recently demonstrated by Professor Franck L. Schoell; see Études sur l'humanisme continental en Angleterre à la fin de la Renaissance. Paris, 1926.

on astronomy, which he closes with several excellent demonstrations of the rotundity of the earth.

My typical example of the claims of Renaissance learning I wish to draw from the field of Elizabethan psychology. The psychology of Aristotle and the Greeks had by the time of the Renaissance been organized into consistent treatises, such as those of Arnold of Villa Nova, Constantinus Africanus, Gilbertus Anglicus, Hugo of St. Victor, Isador of Seville, Nemesius, Bartholomaeus, 18 and Francisco To these should be added Vives' De Anima et Vita and Melancthon's De Anima. These treatises, or rather these various versions of one treatise, indicate the state of knowledge throughout most of the Sixteenth Century. The subject was closely connected with medicine, so that a book like Elyot's Castell of Helthe (published at least fourteen times in the Sixteenth Century) presents just such a system as Galen had developed from Hippocrates. ward the end of the century the implications of psychology as regards character and sanity as well as health began to be more and more recognized, and stress began to be laid on the pathological aspects of psychology. The earliest of these specialized treatises in English is the famous A Treatise of Melancholy by Dr. Timothy Bright (1586 bis, 1613). An idea of the European development of the subject can be gained from the numerous references in Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy.19 Meantime, Luis Vives in De Anima et Vita and in his educational writings had developed the doctrine of the passions of the mind as they function in education and in life. This lead was followed by Huarte Navarro, a translation of whose Examen de Ingenios, the Examination of Men's Wits was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1590 and published in 1594. It was extremely popular in England, there being three issues in 1594, others in 1596, 1604, 1616. It shows the specialization of the science already far advanced. There is nothing comparable to the claims which it put forward, except only the intelligence testing of our own day. Huarte will show by discovering the variety of natures in man the profession for which each human being is fitted. By observing and testing the mixture of the four humors in each

¹⁸ The psychological part of Batman uppon Bartholome, 1582, has been only slightly amplified.

¹⁹ See also Robert Burton and the Anatomy of Melancholy. Papers by Sir William Osler, Professor Edward Bensly, and others. Edited by F. Madan. Oxford Bibl. Society. Proceedings and Papers. Vol. I, part III. Oxford 1926, where will be found an extensive list of books identified as having be longed to the library of Robert Burton.

man it can be told for what occupation he is apt. From hot, cold, moist, and dry come all differences of wit. Men of great wisdom and knowledge should be deputed by the state to discover each one's constitution at a tender age and cause him per force to study that science which is agreeable to him and not permit him to make his own choice. The book provides signs and tests by which every temperament may be known and is as scientific and authoritative in tone and language as any treatise, even psychological, of our day.

The consideration of the passions as they manifest themselves in ordinary life and conduct, not primarily either applied psychology or abnormal psychology, became very general. Spenser has a study of the passions in the second book of the Faerie Queene. are also Fletcher's Purple Island, Sir John Davies' Nosce Teipsum, and many others. Minor writings, both scientific and popular, become extremely numerous, and the psychology of the passions enters into the treatment of many subjects. People began to talk in terms of psychology. In 1601 appeared Thomas Wright's The Passions of the Minde in Generall and Charron's De la Sagesse (translated by Samson Lennard and entered in the Stationers' Register in July 1606; other editions about 1612, 1640, and later). Wright was re-issued in 1604, 1620, 1621, 1630; and Charron may be said to have been one of the most popular manuals of the Seventeenth Century. Both books exploit scientifically the nature and action of the passions of the mind. They have the highest possible sanction and may be said (with others) to mark the discovery of the passions, a new force to be controlled and capable of control. Man had known of his passions ever since he had known anything about himself; here was the discovery that they were a group of devil-allied tendencies which might drive him to crime, madness, or the loss of his immortal soul.

Writers like Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Chapman, and now and then Jonson, not only use psychological terms but explain psychological processes. Shakespeare shows himself conscious of the physical concomitants of emotion in his depiction of the jealousy of Othello, the anger of Hotspur, the pride of Coriolanus, the terror of Macbeth, the melancholy of Hamlet, the lust of Angelo, and the envy of Iago. The comedy of humors in Elizabethan drama is an application of the psychology of temperament. The absorbing interest in human passion which appears in Beaumont and Fletcher and the Jacobean dramatists, though expressed in a less crudely

technical manner, is but a continuation of the earlier interest in psychology. By and large, Aristotelian faculty psychology, however mistaken in its physiology and anatomy, is a good working basis for the consideration of what goes on in the emotional life of man, and it is obvious that the knowledge of this subject added much to the confidence with which the English Renaissance exploited the life of feelings and emotions.

There appeared also in England a version of the widely known treatise on memory, the claims of which are typical: The Castel of Memorie: wherein is conteyned the restoryng, augmentyng, and conservyng of the Memorye and Remembraunce; wyth the safest remedyes, and best precepts thereunto in any wyse apperteyning. By Gulielmus Gratarolus and translated by W. Fulwod, 1562, 1563, 1573. It not only presents the traditional discursus on mnemonics, but it presents the medical aspect of the subject and the dietary aspect. The author advises against the eating of fuming meats, sleeping with one's shoes on, and licentiousness as bad for the memory. He thinks that chewing mastic to purge the head, washing the head and feet, and taking exercise are good for the memory. He gives prescription of medicines for bad memory. The system of memory training outlined goes back originally to Aristotle and is sound enough, but it is accompanied by mnemonic devices and various superstitions and absurdities which are obviously intended as a road to success. The book not only commends goodness of memory, but puts down practical rules by means of which the reader may secure that blessing.

So it is throughout; everywhere there is promise of unbelievably good things to those who will follow the directions of the learned. This state of the case no doubt reflects the hopefulness of the age. May it not in some measure have created that hopefulness? When all due allowance has been made for title-pages intended to advertise the book and claims stated for the purpose of making the book sell, the fact remains that the literature of learning in the English Renaissance promised power and achievement and proceeded on the basis of the perfectability of man. The theories advanced to explain the genesis of the Renaissance have already been briefly mentioned. The modest contention of this paper, a contention which will no doubt be readily granted, is that the Renaissance in England came, not altogether because of the influence of the art of antiquity and of Italy, not altogether because men grew rich and comfortable

in the prosperity of English commerce during a long period of peace, not altogether because social castes broke down and gave men in the lower ranks a chance to climb to higher stations, but also, in some measure, because men were offered a series of magnificent promises and were foolish enough, or wise enough, to believe in them. Out of their faith came their effort, and out of their effort came the awakening of their spirits.

GOETHE, HEINE UND EMILIO CASTELAR

By Franz Schneider University of California at Berkeley

Spricht man von Heine-in-Spanien, so denkt man an seine Gedichte von der Art des Buch der Lieder und deren spanische Übersetzer und Freunde;¹ andere Seiten Heines werden nie berührt oder nur, wie unten, der Abweisung halber gestreift. Und doch haben diese gemeinhin nicht berührten Seiten für die Geistesgeschichte der Neuzeit grössere Wichtigkeit als das weitberühmte Buch der Lieder. Spanien ist davon nicht ausgeschlossen, obschon schwerer und langsamer zugänglich; gewissenhafte Aufdeckung der vielen geistigen Fäden, die sich über Paris, Genf und Edinburgs von Deutschland nach Spanien hinziehen, dürfte ungeahnte und höchst interessante Ergebnisse zeitigen. Dass Heines spanische Zeitgenossen mehr von ihm wussten, als man gewöhnlich annimmt, und wohl gar von ihm bedeutend angeregt worden sind, soll der folgende Fall Castelars zeigen.²

Bei der Zusammenstellung der Hinweise und Übersetzungen in Bezug auf Goethe und dessen Schriften in Spanien³ kam mir ein Fall dieser Art vor Augen und erscheint mir bezeichnend zu sein für viele ähnliche Zusammenhänge, von denen man sich bisher kaum etwas hat ahnen lassen. Es handelt sich um einen Aufsatz von Emilio Castelar in der Revista Española de Ambos Mundos

¹ Vgl. hierzu F. Schneider: Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer as "Poeta" and his knowledge of Heines "Lieder." Mod. Philology XIX (1922), 3 pp. 250 ff. Ebenfalls Emilia Pardo Bazan: Fortuna Española de Heine. In: Revista de España, CX (1886), pp. 483 ff, woselbst es lautet: "Cuanto de Heine se lee y relee y aprende de memoria en Francia, en Italia, en España, no es Lutecia, Germania ni Atta Troll, sino las enamoradas, risueñas y desesperadas canciones del Entreacto lírico, del Regreso y de la Nueva Primavera. . ."

² Nebenbei sei auf eine zweite Stelle hingewiesen. Sie befindet sich ebenfalls in der Rev. Esp. de Ambos Mundos, III (1855), S. 737, in einem Aufsatz von F. de Paula Canalejas, betitelt Estudios literarios—Influencia del catolicismo en los poemas de los siglos XVIII y XIX, und lautet: Forzoso es reconocer que el arte encuentra manantial perenne de inspiración en la filosofía racionalista, ya como Heine busque solo en el yo inspiración o como mire como musa las verdades de alguna de las escuelas racionalistas."

³ Als Fortsetzung meiner Apuntes bibliográficos e históricos, von denen bisher erschienen sind: Hoffmann en España (in: Homenaje a Bonilla y San Martin, I, 279-87, Madrid, 1927) und Kotzebue en España (in: Mod. Philology, XXV (1927), No. 2, p. 179-94).

vom Jahre 1854,4 betitelt Ensayo literario. HELENA considerada como símbolo del arte clásico. Verschiedentlich wird darin Goethes und seines Faust Erwähnung getan. Einige Stellen mögen als Grundlagen für meine späteren Ausführungen dienen. Es beschliesst Castelar z.B. die knapp gefasste Einleitung seines Ensayo, wie folgt: "Nosotros en este desaliñado artículo la [i.e. Helena] buscaremos al través del tiempo y del espacio; desde que Homero soñó con su hermosura, hasta que Goethe cantó su amor, y la hizo madre de la poesía moderna, deteniéndonos solo ante los grandes genios que han cantada su gloria." Auf den folgenden 16 Seiten bespricht Castelar dann das Schicksal Helenas in den verschiedenen Bearbeitungen Griechenlands und Roms, um schliesslich auf Goethes Faust überzugehen: "El mundo antiguo ha desaparecido de la tierra, y Helena no ha muerto todavía, antes bien en nube resplandesciente, llevando consigo los secretos del arte, ha subido al cielo de la poesía moderna. Véase, pues, cómo la muger mas ultrajada de las mugeres fué engrandecida y levantada sobre todas ellas.

"En el gran día en que el pantheismo logró escribir su divina comedia llamada el Fausto. Helena debía ser evocada de la eternidad como representante de la belleza clásica. En esas esferas, donde cada generación entonó un canto y cada siglo depositó un secreto, lució la hermosura de Helena como luce la luna en la inmensidad del firmamento. Fausto, que revolvió las entrañas de la naturaleza, abismándose en el desierto de los cielos, ya para aspirar el aliento de la vida que anima todo ser, ya para oir las eternas armonías que produce la inmenso escala de los mundos, no descansó de su peregrinación ni exhaló el aroma de su alma al foco de la vida, sin haber antes adorado bajo el cielo de Grecia la belleza de Helena. El doctor alemán, cuvo destino era fundir todas las ciencias en el crisol del escepticismo para estraer la verdad absoluta; unir todas las artes con la luminosa cadena del amor para forjar la belleza perfecta: reunir en el cielo inmortal de su espíritu todas las sustancias para rehacer lo infinito en la humana inteligencia con las formas de lo relativo; el doctor alemán, atormentado por un remordimiento y una esperanza, se perdió en brazos de Helena par arrancarle el secreto del arte más grande que en su eterno cantar ha producido la humanidad.''6 "Fausto en su carrera reune todas las ideas y

⁴ Madrid, II, 309-328.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 310-11.

⁶ Ibid., p. 327.

todos los sistemas esparcidos como rayos quebrados de luz en la mente de los filósofos y de los poetas..... Beim Lesen dieser und anderer Stellen des Aufsatzes musste ich an Heine denken, doch schien es fast phantastisch, auch nur einen Zusammenhang zu argwöhnen. Beim näheren Untersuchen ergab es sich jedoch, dass Heines Der Doktor Faust-Ein Tanzpoem mit den dazugehörigen Erläuterungen in der Revue des Deux Mondes⁸ des Jahres 1852 auf Französisch erschienen war und zwar unter dem Titel Méphistophéla et la légende de Faust.9 In seinen Erläuterungen, die sich in dem Brief an den Theaterdirektor Lumley in London befinden, behandelt Heine seiner Aufgabe gemäss hauptsächlich die Geschichte und Entwickelung der mittelalterlichen Faustsage, springt jedoch in seiner oft so geistreichen Weise auf das Helena Thema über. Einige Stellen davon seien den Castelar'schen gegenübergestellt: "L'apparition de la belle Hélène dans la légende de Faust a une signification importante. Elle caractérise l'époque de la légende, et nous en révèle la pensée la plus intime. Cet idéal éternel de la beauté et des graces, cette Hélène greque, que nous voyons un beau matin s'installer en maîtresse dans la maison du docteur Faust á Wittenberg, n'est autre que l'antique Grèce ellemême, l'hélénisme conjuré par des incantations magiques et surgissant soudain au coeur de l'Allemagne. Le prodigieux livre que contenait les plus puissant de ses formules évocatrices, c'était Homère;10 Homère, la vraie, la grande clé des enfers,11 qui séduisit, qui ensorcela et Faust et un si grand nombre de ses contemporains. Faust, le Faust historique, aussi bien que celui de la légende, fut un de ces humanistes dont l'enthousiasme propagea en Allemagne la science et l'art des Grecs.''12 "Faust, toujours selon la tradition, s'était si bien épris d'Homère, qu'il faisait apparaître en personne aux yeux des ètudiants qui suivaient son cours sur ce poète les héros de la guerre de Troie." Auf der folgenden Seite heisst es dann weiter: "La plupart des livres populaires sur Faust ayant

12 Ibid., p. 653.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Tome XIII, 1. Februar, S. 635-663; unterschrieben Henri Heine.

⁹ Der Übersetzer ist St. René-Taillandier, der aber nicht genannt ist. Man sehe hierzu Elster: H. Heines Sämtliche Werke, Leipzig, (1890), VI, 632.

¹⁰ Bei Castelar heisst es, S. 321: "Es la consecuencia lógica, necesaria del gran poema [i.e. Homers], que llevaba en sus cantos los gérmenes eternos de todas las artes."

¹¹ Heine hatte in seiner Abhandlung verschiedentlich auf die Zauberbücher des Mittelalters hingewiesen, die gemeiniglich Höllenzwänge genannt wurden.

été tirés de l'ouvrage de Widman, l'épisode de la belle Hélène y est peu développé, et le sens profond qu'il renferme a pu facilement échapper. Goethe lui-même, dans son premier Faust, n'avait pas remarqué cette féconde indication.... Ce fut seulement quarante années plus tard, dans la seconde partie de son drame, qu'il mit en scène l'épisode de la belle Hélène, et il faut avouer qu'il le traita con amore.''14

Während Heine nun, wie bereits gesagt, das literarische Schicksal der Helena im klassischen Altertum nur streifte, allerdings in scharfen Umrissen, und sieh mehr auf den mittelalterlichen Faust verlegte, liess sich Castelar wohl durch Heines Ausführungen, und den Goethe'schen Faust überhaupt, veranlassen, dank seiner tiefen klassischen Bildung, das Helena Schicksal in der griechischen und römischen Zeit ausführlich zu behandeln. Dass Castelar die Revue des Deux Mondes las, steht ausser Zweifel für jeden, der die spanischen Verhältnisse jener Zeit kennt. War doch die Revista Española de Ambos Mundos eine direkte Nachahmung und Nacheiferung der Pariser Revue des Deux Mondes in Aufmachung und Inhalt.¹⁵

¹³ Ibid., p. 654.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 655-6.

¹⁵ Vgl. Eugenio Hartzenbusch: Apuntes para un Catálogo de Periódicos madrileños desde el año 1661 al 1870. Madrid, 1894. S. 149 No. 1075.

DID BYRON WRITE THE POEM TO LADY CAROLINE LAMB?

By Andrew J. Green State College of Washington

That Lord Byron was the author of a poem of six stanzas which has not been reprinted since 1828, seems to be indicated by recent findings among the Murray-Croker papers.¹ The poem follows.

TO LADY CAROLINE LAMB

And say'st thou that I have not felt
Whilst thou wert thus estranged from me?
Nor know'st thou how dearly I have dwelt
On one unbroken dream of thee?
But love like ours must never be,
And I will learn to prize thee less;
As thou hast fled, so let me flee,
And change the heart thou mayst not bless.

They'll tell thee, Clara! I have seem'd,
Of late, another's charms to woo,
Nor sigh'd, nor frown'd, as if I deem'd
That thou wert banish'd from my view.
Clara! this struggle—to undo
What thou hast done too well for me—
This mask before the babbling crew—
This treachery—was truth to thee!

I have not wept while thou wert gone,
Nor worn one look of sullen woe;
But sought, in many, all that one
(Ah! need I name her?) could bestow.
It is a duty which I owe
To thine—to thee—to man—to God,
To crush, to quench this guilty glow,
Ere yet the path of crime be trod.

But since my breast is not so pure
Since still the vulture tears my heart
Let me this agony endure,
Not thee—oh! dearest as thou art!
In mercy, Clara! let us part,
And I will seek, yet know not how,
To shun, in time, the threatening dart.
Guilt must not aim at such as thou.

¹ A collection of over 300 unpublished letters, chiefly by John Murray II, publisher of the *Quarterly Review* from 1809 to 1842, to John Wilson Croker. Recently offered for sale by the Anderson Galleries, 489 Park Avenue, New York City. I am indebted to Dr. Walter E. Peck for the loan of these papers while they were in his possession.

But thou must aid me in the task,
And nobly thus exert thy power;
Then spurn me hence—'tis all I ask—
Ere time mature a guiltier hour;
Ere wrath's impending vials shower
Remorse redoubled on my head;
Ere fires unquenchably devour
A heart, whose hope has long been dead.

Deceive no more thyself and me,
Deceive not better hearts than mine;
Ah! Shouldst thou, whither wouldst thou flee
From woe like ours—from shame like thine?
And, if there be a wrath divine,
A pang beyond this fleeting breath,
E'en now all future hope resign;
Such thoughts are guilt—such guilt is death.

The title page of the only edition of Byron in which this poem may be found, reads as follows: THE/WORKS/of/LORD/BYRON/including/The Suppressed Poems/COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME/PARIS/PUBLISHED BY A. AND W. GALIGNANI/Nº 18, RUE VIVIENNE. The poem is to be found among a group entitled Poems, Attributed to Lord Byron. E. H. Coleridge rejected it with the following comment: "Other attributed poems which found their way into newspapers and foreign editions. viz. . . . (iii) To Lady Caroline Lamb, 'And say'st thou that I have not felt,' published in Works, etc., 1828, must, failing the production of the original MSS., be accounted forgeries, or, perhaps, in one or two instances, of doubtful authenticity."

The Murray-Croker papers apparently contain an allusion to this poem. The letter in question—written by John Murray II to John Wilson Croker—was published in Catalogue No. 2256 of the Anderson Galleries:

"Dearest Sir

Allow me to intrude for a frank for a Copy of Lord Byrons Poem to his *friend* Lady Calantha.

I am really most anxious to see this Poem—wch Mulock writes me is infinitely superior to the Third Canto, but this is the Day of my Dinner & Sale to the Booksellers and every moment is engrossed—would you like to send it to Gifford, who is not able to go out, & whom it would greatly amuse.

I am Dear Sir Your faithful Servant

John Murray"

Only two poems to which this letter could refer are known—the

² The Works of Lord Byron: Poetry (London, 1903), III, xx.

poem quoted above, and the famous Remember thee! It will at once be remembered that Byron is the Glenarvon of Lady Caroline's novel Glenarvon, and that the Lady Calantha of the same book is Lady Caroline herself. Although the poem is addressed to "Clara," Lady Caroline Lamb was a creature of many pet names, such as Young Savage, Ariel, Sprite. Byron and others frequently called her Caro. But Clara has a more rhetorical ring than Caro.

Inasmuch as the third canto of *Childe Harold* reached Murray's hands in the summer of 1816, the Murray letter was probably written in 1816 or soon thereafter. If it belonged to a time after 1820, the date of the third canto of *Don Juan*, the letter would undoubtedly specify which third canto was referred to. Moreover, the fact that Murray's note bears an 1811 watermark does not favor a date very long after 1816.

The Murray letter seems to refer to a longer poem than *Remember thee!*, which has but eight lines:

"Remember thee! remember thee!
Till Lethe quench life's burning stream
Remorse and shame shall cling to thee,
And haunt thee like a feverish dream!

Remember thee! Ay, doubt it not,
Thy husband too shall think of thee!
By neither shalt thou be forgot,
Thou false to him, thou fiend to me!''

Furthermore, effectively terrible as the lines may be, it is next to impossible to imagine Mulock³ or anyone else, writing of so short a poem as being "infinitely superior to the third canto" of *Childe Harold*. There seems to be no basis of comparison between the two poems. To speak thus of the longer poem, however, does not appear to have been beyond Mulock. That his literary taste was most erratic, Letters 359 and 401 in Moore's *Life*, *Letters*, and *Journals of Lord Byron* show.⁴ Moreover, we do not know how, in his letter

^{3 &}quot;Thomas Mulock, Esq., of Magdalen Hall, author of several theological and political tracts. He was at this time (1820) residing at Geneva, and delivering a course of Lectures on English Literature."—Moore, Thomas, Life, Letters, and Journals of Lord Buren, p. 438

Letters, and Journals of Lord Byron, p. 438.

"Mulock, Dinah Maria, afterwards Mrs. Craik [author of John Halifax, etc.] daughter of Thomas Mulock and his wife Dinah, was born on 20 April 1826 at Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, where her father was then minister of a small congregation."—Dictionary of National Biography.

⁴ Letter 359. (Byron to Murray. Ravenna, March 1, 1820.) "The editor of the Bologna Telegraph has sent me a paper with extracts from Mr. Mulock's (his name always reminds me of Muley Moloch of Morocco) 'Atheism answered', in which there is a long eulogium of my poesy, and a great 'compatiamento' for my misery. . . . This gentleman seems to be my great ad-

to Murray, he may have qualified the statement. And Murray obviously was too hurried to repeat to Croker Mulock's possible qualifications. That the poem may have been compared only to the autobiographical part of the third canto (Stanzas I to XVI, inclusive, for instance) does not seem an unreasonable supposition. There is here a total of but 144 lines.

To Lady Caroline Lamb, therefore, seems to fit the Murray letter better than Remember thee! Its tone indicates that, if authentic, it must have preceded the shorter poem, which was written in 1813.5 Murray's letter does not prove that the poem referred to was not written before 1816. It merely indicates that he did not see it before 1816. The intimate tone of each poem suggests a reason why a Murray reference might be delayed until three or four years after the date of composition.

Let us now see whether the poem fits known circumstances. We learn from Lady Caroline's testimony that she went to Ireland about the first of August, 1812, where she stayed "three months," though her cousin Harriet testified that she was again in England, in Staffordshire, on September 12.6 It is said that before Lady Melbourne persuaded her to go, Lady Caroline went to Byron and implored him to "fly with her," but that he refused, and conducted her again to Melbourne House.

"Ah! Shouldst thou, whither wouldst thou flee From woe like ours—from shame like thine?"

Whilst she was thus estranged from him, she evidently accused him of being unfeeling. In spite of the fact, however, that he dwelt on one unbroken dream of her (as he probably told her in the "flight" interview), their love could not be, and Byron was compelled to try to change his heart. As a part of this general policy of suppression, he adopted a mask before the babbling crew, and woo'd another. In September, 1812, Byron's liaison with Lady Oxford at Chelten-

mirer; so I take what he says in good part, as he evidently intends kindness, to which I can't accuse myself of being invincible."

Letter 401. (Byron to Moore. Ravenna, Dec. 9, 1820.) "I have some knowledge of your countryman Muley Molock, the lecturer. He wrote to me several letters upon Christianity, to convert me; and, if I had not been a Christian already, I should probably have been now, in consequence. I thought there was something of a wild talent in him, mixed with a due leaven of absurdity,—as there must be in all talent, let loose upon the world, without a martingale."

 $^{^5\,\}mathrm{Published}$ for the first time in Medwin's Conversations with Lord Byron, (1824).

⁶ Cf. Ethel Colburn Mayne, Byron (New York, 1913), I, 238.

ham was already under way. To identify the "many" is scarcely necessary. Miss Mayne calls attention to the fact that Rogers was the only one who thought that there was nothing "criminal" between Lady Caroline and Byron. The poem gives as one of the reasons for the immediate suppression of their feelings the danger of time's maturing a guiltier hour. The guilty glow must be quenched ere yet the path of crime be trod. Lady Caroline was most ardent in her pursuit of Byron. He implores her to deceive herself and him no longer. Byron frequently reminded Lady Caroline of her duty to her husband. "Deceive not better hearts than mine." The poem seems to fit nicely into the general period of Lady Caroline's absence in Ireland.

It will also be found to fit in nicely between Byron's "flight" letter, and the "I am no longer your lover" letter, dated November 9, of Glenarvon, which Byron is said to have acknowledged as his own. If the first of this series is authentic, it represents the peak of Byron's attachment for her. The poem represents a cooling of his passion, and a growing attachment for Lady Oxford. Lady Caroline presumably did not take the hint (if she ever saw the poem⁸), and the Glenarvon letter of November 9 (an imaginary date?) represents a final and thorough rebuff. The cohesion of the series tends somewhat to establish the validity of the units, upon each of which some slight doubt may be cast.

The question of forgery remains to be considered. It is obvious that Murray and Mulock have no suspicion of forgery. Moreover, Mulock writes Murray. The references to Moore's Life, Letters, and Journals of Lord Byron show that Byron and Mulock were acquainted in 1820.9 Their acquaintance may well have covered a period of several years. Mulock seems to have written Murray from Italy, where Byron had presumably shown him his poem to the Lady Calantha.

To combat the evidence inherent in the Murray letter and in the fact of the existence of this poem, attributed to Lord Byron, it would be necessary to advance motives for a forgery. None except the following one (for mere imitation would not have chosen so personal a subject) occurs to the writer. Miss Mayne's doubt of the authenticity of Byron's famous "flight" letter of 1812 to Lady

⁷ Mayne, Byron, I, 234.

⁸ She died in London, in January, 1828.

⁹ See above, n. 4.

Caroline may suggest that since Lady Caroline was something of a versifier, the poem was perhaps written by her to alleviate the wound which Byron's public slight had occasioned. Lady Caroline was a skillful imitator of Byron's hand. She in fact obtained a miniature of Byron from Murray through forgery. A superficial likeness of tone (though not a fundamental one) seems to exist between this letter and the Byron poem.

A peculiar quality of the poem, however, strongly combats the notion of forgery by anyone. The superficial tone is that of ardent but star-blasted love. Fundamentally the tone is that of a man who, though professing an ardent devotion, really feels none. Could anyone but Byron himself have struck that insincere note in the protestation of passion? Could imitation conceive of a poem avowing passion, but determining to put an end to it? The poem seems to have a definite purpose, the design of the writer being to rid himself of the lady altogether. A careful reading of the poem will probably be convincing. Examine especially the first quatrains of the second and the third stanzas, and the concluding quatrain. This seemingly inimitable psychological quality strongly supports the general hypothesis.¹⁰

It may be objected that the numerous Byronic notes in the poem might easily be caught by imitators. That Byron's wooden rhetoric, his struggle, his mask before the babbling crew, his guilty glow, his path of crime, his vulture, his agony, his wrath's impending vials, his fires unquenchable, and his pang, might all be imitation, is conceivable, but the sustenation of the general Byronic tone and rhetoric would argue against it.

Moreover, many interesting parallels suggest themselves. For instance, the lines in the Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte,

"Or, like the thief of fire from heaven, Wilt thou withstand the shock? And share with him, the unforgiven, His vulture and his rock!"

may be compared with the first quatrain of the fourth stanza. A positive conception in one, a negative conception in the other, of some one sharing Promethean agony, is found. Is it likely that imitation would duplicate this peculiar Byronic idea?



¹⁰ Indeed, it is in just this quality, if Byron wrote the poem, that it will find its place in English literature. It is unique. It has its parallel in the tone of the letter to Troilus of Chaucer's Criseyde, but where is such another document of genuine dissembling to be found?

The following couplet from the Stanzas for Music (written to Augusta Leigh),

"Oh! thine be the gladness, and mine be the guilt! Forgive me, adored one!—forsake, if thou wilt;—"

may be compared with the same quatrain. The common idea is, "You must not suffer! Let me suffer!" Notice also the parallel with the "then spurn me hence" line. Imitation would improbably hit upon parallels of this kind.

Another parallel is that of the line, "Deceive not better hearts than mine," with the second stanza of Remember thee! At one time, sincerely or insincerely, Byron used the Hamlet simile to liken William Lamb to Hyperion, himself to a satyr. Throughout the Lady Caroline episode, Byron emphasizes her obligation to be true to her husband. To find the same note reechoed in this poem renders the probability of forgery still less likely. At any rate, Lady Caroline could hardly have forged that line.

Again, the poem reflects the Byronic attitude toward life after death.

"The goal is gain'd, we die, you know—and then—What then?—I do not know, no more do you—And so good night."

"Yet if there be a land of souls"

"And, if there be a wrath divine"

Striking indeed! that Byronic echo in the poem under discussion.

The purpose of this article is, without being too dogmatic, to state the case for the authenticity of the poem. In the first place, the poem was attributed to Lord Byron. It seems to fit the Murray letter better than Remember thee! It fits well into the general period of Lady Caroline's absence in Ireland. Its psychological quality seems inimitable. Individual lines and the general tone of the poem render forgery by Lady Caroline Lamb most improbable, if not impossible. No other motives for forgery occur. Moreover, certain aspects of the poem appear to be peculiarly Byronic.

Who but Byron could have written it?

¹¹ Don Juan, I, CXXXIII-CXXXIV.

¹² Childe Harold, II, IV to VIII, inclusive, should be read in this connection. The italics in the quotation are mine.

¹³ To Lady Caroline Lamb, Stanza VI. (Italics mine.)

CARLYLE'S INTERPRETATION OF KANT

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Although no one has perhaps ever looked into Carlyle's Critical and Miscellaneous Essays (1839, 1869) for a technical exposition of the philosophy of Kant, there have been, nevertheless, various opinions as to the expository value of certain paragraphs on two of Kant's doctrines in the State of German Literature and Novalis.1 In these two essays—the first devoted to aesthetic and ethical principles in the German romantic movement, the second to the mysticism of Novalis—Carlyle attempts a popular elucidation of the ideality of space and time and Kant's distinction between Understanding and Reason, as set forth in the Critique of Pure Reason. The treatment of these doctrines, however, is so brief, so subordinated to the literary theme, and the manner of giving the British public a mild taste of German metaphysics² is so obviously tentative that it would be inappropriate—even unprofitable—upon such evidence to test Carlyle rigorously as a philosopher. The most fertile questions arising from an examination of the philosophical portion of these essays concern the approximate value of Kant to Carlyle and Carlyle's degree of success in exposition, especially the latter. I think it can be shown that Carlyle's statement of the two doctrines is wanting in precision, in sufficient evidence of reason-

¹ Thomas Carlyle, Critical and Miscellaneous Essays (Copyright Edition, Chapman and Hall, London, 1894), I, 22-73; II, 183-229; the edition hereafter referred to. The first essay appeared in the Edinburgh Review, September, 1827; the second, Novalis, in the Foreign Review, July, 1829.

The present subject does not include the place of Kant in Carlyle's thought and writings. As for Carlyle's exposition of Kant, opinion has been considerably divided, from the view of C. E. Vaughan that it is a mere "travesty" on the original, to the view, which came to me through Professor Karl Young in 1923, that the Kantian paragraphs in Novalis constitute an excellent popular treatment. Vaughan's remark will be noted later.

² Bewailing Britain's scant interest in German philosophy, Carlyle writes: "That Kotzebue's insanity should have spread faster, by some fifty years, than Lessing's wisdom; that Kant's philosophy should stand in the background as a dreary and abortive dream, and Gall's Craniology be held out to us from every booth as a reality."—German Literature, p. 26. Carlyle in 1827 was apparently not aware of the popularity of German literature through Scott's translation of Bürger's Lenore and Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen, and Coleridge's translation of Schiller's Wallenstein.

able comprehension, and that, failing to disentangle Kant's ideas from certain ideas of his successors, Carlyle's exposition gives both an inadequate and a misleading notion of Kant's two doctrines.³

By 1820 Carlyle's spiritual struggles had prepared him for a sympathetic consideration of Kant's philosophy.4 He had seen his religious faith swept away by the literature of the Enlightenment by Gibbon, Hume, Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert. It was not alone the strong appeal of Kant's work; the very nature and background of the German philosopher gave rise to a community of interest and endeavor greater perhaps than Carlyle himself ever fully realized. Between Carlyle and "the philosopher of Protestantism" there was some community of race, in so far as Kant's grandfather had emigrated from Scotland; of general religious training, in so far as Kant's Pietistic background can perhaps resemble Carlyle's early Presbyterianism; and of early intellectural interests, inasmuch as both, while young, were fascinated by mathematics. Later they faced in some measure the same dilemma; the solution of the moral and intellectual deadlocks of the Aufklärung. Carlyle was to turn mystic: Kant was to examine reason in the attempt to understand the origin of the paradoxes of contemporary philosophy. 4a More specifically, they dealt with the problem of saving science and reason, on the one hand, and morality and freedom, on the other. Both arrived at substantially the same result: a compromise between mathematical certainty and moral choice, in Kant's categorical imperative and Carlyle's injunction that we do our "work" with-

³ I have encountered no detailed study of the relationship between Carlyle's exposition of Kant and Kant's own writings. Several short studies of Carlyle's work, however, contain passages on the subject, e.g. Paul Hensel, Thomas Carlyle, Stuttgart, (Frommanns Klassiker der Philosophie), 1901, pp. 68 ff.; C. E. Vaughan, Carlyle and his German Masters, in Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, Oxford, 1910-, I, 168-196; Camille Bos (Pseud. Mlle. Marie Boeuf), Le Kantisme de Carlyle, in Archiv. f. Gesch. d. Philos., Berlin, 1902, XV, 32-41; W. Streuli, Thomas Carlyle als Vermittler Deutscher Litteratur und Deutschen Geistes, Zürich, 1895. Brief treatments by Edward Caird, E. Flügel and A. Weinhold contribute little and perhaps do not require full citation.

⁴ W. S. Johnson, Thomas Carlyle, a Study of his Literary Apprenticeship, 1814-1831, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1911, p. 12. Carlyle was studying German by 1819.

^{4*} Philosophical thought had been carried by Hume and Leibniz to a point where fruther progress seemed impossible. "No answer," says Höffding, "was forthcoming to the question propounded in Hume's Treatise in 1739 until Kant's Critique of Pure Reason in 1781."—H. Höffding, A History of Modern Philosophy, etc., tr. B. E. Meyer, 2 vols., London, 1900, I, 455. Carlyle notes this state of affairs, in a general way, in the State of German Literature, pp. 67-8.

out speculative question. Space forbids elaborating upon these very general similarities; and since, moreover, they can easily suggest too much, we should note also some illuminating differences. Kant's emphasis on the will is less striking than Carlyle's, which is that of Fichte.⁵ Kant is a philosopher in search primarily of an *Erkenntnisstheorie*; Carlyle is a young poet in search of a *Lebensführer*. Kant, as a philosopher, tries to reconcile idealism with empirical realism so as to get a sort of golden mean, bordering at times on "common sense," an attempt that makes him more Scotch than Carlyle. On the other hand, Carlyle, with his mystical interpretation of Kant, becomes more German than Kant himself.⁶ These perhaps "glittering generalities," though highly vulnerable, may of themselves throw some light on where Carlyle found himself fundamentally at one with Kant and where he inevitably misunderstood and distorted Kant's thought.

First of all, we should consider the extent of Carlyle's knowledge of Kant's work. In the passages we are considering, only the Critique of Pure Reason is mentioned, though the Critiques of "practical reason" and of "judgment," and the Prolegomena as well, would have cleared up much that he apparently did not understand. That he even read the first Critique carefully and intelligently has been open to doubt. He himself apologizes for the cursory, fragmentary, and popular nature of his treatment. His interpretation of Kant is peculiar, likewise, in that it includes allusions to Fichte's philosophy and the singular intimation that Kant's theories are not difficult to grasp. The general looseness of style may lead one to doubt both Carlyle's complete comprehension of Kant and his capacity for veracious statement. One inclines to

⁵ Carlyle's interpretation of Fichte, to whom he owed a far greater debt than to Kant, I expect to treat in a future paper. Fichtean elements in Carlyle's paragraphs on Kant will necessarily receive only a brief and secondary consideration here. The conclusions of this paper will be relatively negative.

⁶ Camille Bos, Le Kantisme de Carlyle, etc., Berlin, 1902, pp. 33-38.

⁷ German Literature, p. 63; Novalis, p. 204. Carlyle had found in Madame de Staël's Germany several chapters on German philosophy, including one on Kant alone. He was not, however, under any illusions about its value. After showing how little the Germans are understood, he writes thus on page 30 of German Literature: "Madame de Staël's book has done away with this: all Europe is now aware that the Germans are something. . . . What that something is, indeed, is still undecided; for this gifted lady's Allemagne, in doing much to excite curiosity, has still done little to satisfy or even direct it."

s German Literature, pp. 63-4. Bos exclaims: "Hum! on se demande avec effroi quelles étaient les lectures ordinaires des auditeurs de Carlyle!" (p. 35).

^{9&}quot;Will Kantists forgive us," asks Carlyle, "for the loose and popular

conjecture, moreover, that since, in the essays, Carlyle seeks spiritual support in the Critique of Pure Reason (1781, 1787), which nowhere explicitly offers it,10 and not in the Critique of Practical Reason (1788) or in the Metaphysics of Morals (1785), both of which deal constructively with Kant's great assurances (God, freedom, and immortality), he must, then, have read only the Critique of Pure Reason. Furthermore, the presence of Fichtean conceptions in his exposition suggest that he regarded Kant's thought as only an initial step.11 Carlyle's readers may also ask why he did not employ the Prolegomena (1783), in which Kant clarified some perplexing passages in the first Critique (1781) and which would have aided a popular presentation of difficult hypotheses. In addition to these questions and conjectures, one may justly ask if Carlyle's modest admission of only an imperfect knowledge of Kant does not suggest that "browsing" is more descriptive of his approach to Kant than "reading" or "studying." In short, the citation of only the Critique of Pure Reason, the apologetic manner of treatment, the admixture of Fichte's doctrines-all lead to the assumption of an imperfect and fragmentary acquaintance with Kant's philosophy.

The literary and ethical nature of Carlyle's interpretation of that philosophy is obvious on every page. He is dealing primarily with romantic literature in Germany and its philosophical foundations. In his hunger for spiritual certainties, in his figurative language,

manner in which we must here speak of these things, to bring them in any measure before the eyes of our readers?" He admits also an imperfect comprehension of Kant, in a phrase, "in the little that we know of him;" and modestly refuses to assert the degree of truth and error in Kant's system. (Germ. Lit., pp. 63, 66, 70). Yet Bos doubts if Carlyle had really studied the Critique (Bos, p. 35); and Vaughan observes: "It must be confessed that the sketch of the Kantian philosophy, attempted in the second of his essays [Germ. Lit.], is little better than a travesty of the original. And this, unfortunately, is the only passage in which he speaks [sic] any length of the man who stands at the fountain-head of modern philosophy." On the other hand, Vaughan seems convinced that Carlyle had read far more widely than he indicates in his essays, (Vaughan, p. 185) and was in mortal fear of casting pearls before swine. Hensel, like Bos, doubts Carlyle's full knowledge of Kant's writings ("Und doch liegt kein Grund vor, Carlyle zum Schüler Kants zu machen. Ja, es ist zweifelhaft, ob er jemals auch nur die Kritik der reinen Vernunft wirklich durchstudiert hat.") and suggests that Carlyle learned Kant through Novalis and Friedrich Schlegel. (Hensel, p. 68).

¹⁰ There are, however, a few ethical and religious implications in the third and fourth antinomies of the Critique of Pure Reason. But of these Carlyle makes no mention.

¹¹ The relationship between Kant and Fichte in Carlyle's discussion will be briefly indicated later.

his impatience with formal metaphysics, his desire to seize in Kant whatever will illuminate the problems of the period, he distorts ideas and confuses their terminology. Certainly Kant had little expressly for Carlyle; the former's problems in the Critique of Pure Reason are almost purely epistemological, and it was partly because Carlyle's nature had a side that delighted in formal thinking-which his early enthusiasm for geometry shows-that he wrestled at all with a critique of the powers and limits of reason. On the other hand, in the philosophical passages in the two essays, Kant is shown as renewing the moral power of the Romantic poets; as pointing to inner standards of judgments, of which the work of Schiller and the Schlegels stood as examples; as showing the superiority of Reason to Understanding, thus supplying an inner source of virtue and guidance; as demonstrating the empirical unreality of matter, and thus stimulating a new idealism. eenth century materialism, determinism, skepticism, persiflage-all promised to dissolve in the new concepts which Kant revealed. And not only Kant but the Post-Kantians as well-Fichte and Schelling in particular—were ushering in a period directed by a new critical attitude, in which the ideals of the Enlightenment, finiteness, mechanism, objectivity, and disillusionment, should give way to concepts of infinity, spontaneity, subjectivity, and faith.¹² Thus in his paragraphs on Kant, Carlyle does not stress the technical service which Kant did to philosophy by ruthlessly laying bare the limitations of man's rational faculty. From Kant's many contributions Carlyle selected, both as helping him to new visions and as vitalizing the literature of Germany, the ideality of space and time and the nature of pure Reason. Did he really understand these principles, and if so, did he interpret them successfully?

One of the most disappointing features of his interpretation is his strikingly careless use of philosophical terms. Arising partly from the hesitantly popular nature of his effort, his peculiar distortion of their meanings was perhaps due chiefly to the literary character of his theme, to his singular comprehension of Kant and

¹² Carlyle was fully aware of the great Critical effort following the Aufklärung. He understood that Hume had brought the empiricism of Locke and Reid to a reductio ad absurdum, and that the Critical Philosophy, beginning in Kant, promised to be the "greatest intellectual achievement of the century in which it came to light," pointing toward a "noble system of morality, a purer theology, . . . lofty views of man's nature." One of its greatest products, he maintained, was the work of Goethe and Schiller.—German Literatrue, p. 66.



the Post-Kantians under the notion of a single school, and to his desire to state conclusions of a provocative and prophetic nature. His conviction was that for philosophy "to treat itself popularly would be a degradation and an impossibility;" yet he proceeds unwittingly to prove his conviction by misusing his terms. German metaphysics, for example, becomes at various times "German philosophy," "Idealism," "all German systems since the time of Kant," "German metaphysical science generally." Summing up Novalis's debt to Fichte, Carlyle broadly asserts that the former's "metaphysical creed . . . might indeed, safely enough for our present purpose, be classed under the head of Kantism, or German metaphysics generally."15 Obviously he failed to discern the very real difference between Kant and his successor Fichte, and the fact that "German metaphysics generally" was by no means homogenous. The term "transcendental" he confuses with "transcendent" and translates as "beyond" or "above," not with its a priori meaning but with a figuratively spatial and temporal connotation.16 Two other terms, which we shall note later, he employs misleadingly, if not through misunderstanding them, at least through giving them Post-Kantian meanings: "intuition" and Vernunft.

It is in the essay on Novalis that Carlyle, after outlining the denial of matter by "German philosophy," tries to state Kant's

¹³ German Literature, p. 64. It should be said here that the interpretation of Kant is rendered difficult by Kant's inconsistency in the use of his own terms, which may vary in meaning from page to page. Critics are giving up the attempt to harmonize his various meanings. (Cf. Norman Kemp Smith, A Commentary to Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, London, 1918, Int., pp. xix-xx).

¹⁴ Novalis, pp. 201-202.

¹⁵ Ibid. Observe Carlyle's effort to be popular and comprehensive, in the phrase "safely enough for our present purpose."

^{16&}quot;A priori," says Windelband, "is, with Kant, not a psychological, but a purely epistemological mark; it means not a chronological priority to experience, but a universality and necessity of validity in principles of reason which transcends all experience, and is not capable of being proved by any experience (i.e. a logical, not a chronological priority). No one who does not make this clear to himself has any hope of understanding Kant." W. Windelband, A History of Philosophy, tr. J. H. Tufts, N. Y., 1896, pp. 533-4, n. Risking a quotation from Kant without a context, we may observe one of his elucidations of a priori. "Wir werden also im Verfolg unter Erkenntnissen a priori nicht solche verstehen, die von dieser oder jener, sondern die schlechterdings von aller Erfahrung unanbhängig stattfinden." Kritik der reinen Vernunft, Zweite Auflage, 1787, Herausgegeben von der Königlich Preuszischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1904 (Schriften, III, 28); the edition hereafter referred to.

doctrine of space and time.¹⁷ One is greatly tempted here to exonerate Carlyle for his errors; one realizes the pitfalls in his task of stating crudely and popularly what, if it is to stand examination, must be stated subtly, at least clearly. Nevertheless, the exigencies of a popular exposition have a limit, and Carlyle here exceeds it. both in employing loose phraseology and in failing to distinguish between the Kantian and Post-Kantian meanings of his terms. Thus at the very outset we must waive Carlyle's assumption, unwarranted from reading Kant, that space and time as mere forms of our perceptions imply the non-existence of matter.¹⁸ We must confine ourselves to observing the negative nature of his interpretation; its positive—Fichtean—character is out of our present scope.

After pointing out how little we know, through our senses, of the nature of an object, Carlyle proceeds: "But farther... according to these Kantian systems, the organs of the Mind too, what is called Understanding, are of no less arbitrary, and, as it were, accidental character than those of the Body. Time and Space themselves are not external but internal entities: they have no outward existence, there is no Time and no Space out of the mind; they are mere forms of man's spiritual being, laws under which his thinking nature is constituted to act." It is easy to discern here Carlyle's attempt at an informal and popular presentation: for example, in such phrases as "not external but internal entities" and "man's

¹⁷ This doctrine is fundamental to Carlyle's mysticism, since it may lead to the denial of matter. Streuli writes: 'Carlyle geht aber noch weiter und erklärt alle Materie als das Gewand des Göttlichen... Das ding an sich [matter stripped of its empirical qualities], worüber sich Kant nicht aussprechen wollte, ist nach Carlyle Gott.' Streuli, Thomas Carlyle als Vermittler deutcher Litteratur, etc., p. 119.

¹⁸ Novalis, pp. 202-204. The famous "tree" passage here has struck various critics differently: Hensel (Thomas Carlyle, pp. 68-71) regards it as more Berkeleyan than Kantian, and places Carlyle among the subjective idealists; Höffding (History of Modern Philosophy, II, 377) holds that "from Kant his principal loan was the distinction between the thing-in-itself and phenomena." But Carlyle's own words are Fichtean: the unknowable tree is only a "Manifestation of Power from something which is not I"—the Nicht-Ich which, Carlyle says, Fichte derived from Ich. It would thus appear that in embracing Fichte's conception of the negative character of matter, Carlyle saw only the negative side of Kant's teaching, as Hensel holds—that side which merely demonstrates time and space to be, not metaphysical realities, but forms of our perceptions. Kant did not deny reality to matter; on the contrary he held that matter does exist, as das Ding an sich, unknowable but real, as ground for sense experience. (Cf. Kant, Kritik der reinen Vernunft, Schriften, III, 190-198 [Widerlegung des Idealismus, etc.]) This is why we may disregard the "tree" passage; it is distinctly unKantian in phraseology, borrowing terms from Fichte, and unKantian in content, in so far as it sounds like a rough paraphrase from Berkeley.

spiritual being." It can be objected, moreover, that space and time are not, metaphysically speaking, forms of the "mind," or "Understanding," or one's "thinking nature," but of perception or unified sense experience.¹⁹ What is apparently uppermost in Carlyle's mind is the ideality of space and time, and not, as well, their epistemologically formal nature in perception. The effort to popularize the doctrine does not account for this miscomprehension. Nor does it account for his confusion of terms, as seen, for example, in apparently identifying "man's spiritual being" with "mind" and "Understanding," a confusion difficult to understand when one remembers the lucid outline of the doctrine in Kant's introduction to the Critique. Without, therefore, bringing the formidable metaphysical apparatus of Kant's logic to bear technically upon Carlyle's exposition, we may conclude that the latter's treatment falls short of clarity and the evidence of reasonably complete comprehension. Although nominally a discussion of Kant—the Critique of Pure Reason has chief place in the text—his paragraphs are also concerned with Fichte, with Berkeley, with Dugald Stewart, with the mysticism of India as reported by Sir William Jones.²⁰ Kant's doctrine of space and time, therefore, comes to us from a mind turbulent with various philosophies and theories and with an urgent predisposition toward spiritual interpretations.

When we turn to his treatment of Kant's distinction between Understanding and Reason, we mark defects similar but more complicated. Again we must be content with negative results. For Carlyle's discussion turns out to be less an interpretation of Kant

¹⁰ Again risking a quotation from Kant without a context: "Zeit und Raum... sind nämlich beide zusammengenommen reine Formen aller sinnlichen Anschauung und machen dadurch synthetische Sätze a priori möglich."— Krit. d. r. V., etc., p. 63.—On the other hand, Carlyle was making a confusion which is still made in the popular mind regarding this doctrine. So recently as April 20, 1924, in Mr. Percy Hutchinson's article in the New York Times Book Review, (celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of Kant's birth), we read that "time and space are laws of the mind under which we arrange all experience." Obviously they may be laws of the mind only because they have been laws of perception first, upon which "mind" works its syntheses.—But time and space have ever been, in this connection, more striking to most readers than the forms of mind in Kant's sense—the categories.

²⁰ Hensel, remarking on Carlyle's aversion to materialism as being his reason for adopting the negative side of Kant's theory (like many other readers of Kant) proceeds somewhat dryly: "Auch Carlyle folgte durchaus diesem Zug der Zeit. Wie sehr er geneigt war, nur diese Seite der Kantischen Lehre gelten zu lassen, zeigt die Parallelisierung mit der indischen Philosophie, auf die er hinwies, obwohl er sicherlich von Schopenhauer, der diese Synthese im grossartigsten Stile vollzog, keine Kenntnis hattle, sondern sich auf den Orientalisten Jones berief."—Hensel, p. 69.

than one of Fichte and Schelling, and although an examination of the latter under Carlyle's pen would be interesting and profitable it would take us too far afield. It is enough to note at the beginning that Kant's term Reason assumes for Carlyle a meaning foreign to that in the Critique; it becomes an ennobling, penetrating, and soaring faculty in man capable of reaching absolute truth, of performing like mystical intuition. This conception is alien also to Kant's distinction between the two faculties, neither of which is reliable beyond the sphere of our rational and finite experience. Yet Carlyle was convinced that the distinction was "the grand characteristic of Kant's philosophy." He explains further that Understanding and Reason are "organs" or "modes of operation, by which the mind discovers truth," though their natures and provinces fundamentally differentiate them. "Reason, the Kantists say, is of a higher nature than Understanding; it works by more subtle methods, on higher objects, and requires a far finer culture for its development, indeed in some men it is never developed at all: but its results are no less certain, nay rather, they are much more so; for Reason discerns Truth itself, the absolutely and primitively True; while Understanding discerns only relations, and cannot decide without if." Carlyle's paragraph then outlines the province of Understanding as being "real, practical and material knowledge, Mathematics, Physics . . .," and that of Reason to make Understanding "obey." When the latter usurps the province of Reason, there is danger "to the whole spiritual man," since in attempting to prove, for instance, the existence of God, it ends in atheism or "a faint possible Theism." It may also make virtue a utility, degrade art to formalism, or, dealing with necessity and free will, become hopelessly bogged in paradoxes. Reason, on the other hand, discerns, "not by logic and argument," that "God exists, infinite, eternal, invisible . . .;" and operates in "that higher region whither logic and argument cannot reach; in that holier region, where Poetry, and Virtue and Divinity abide, in whose presence Understanding wavers and recoils, dazzled into utter darkness by that 'sea of light,' at once the fountain and the termination of all true knowledge."21 The reader who has followed this passage from Carlyle, and its paraphrases, will observe that Carlyle began with the ostensible purpose of expounding Kant and has ended with language of a very unphilosophical but poetical character. Kantians

²¹ German Literature, pp. 69-70.

will note also the obvious traces of Fichte and Schelling, especially in the new meanings of old terms whereby Kant's "Reason" through re-interpretation— ceases to be merely a form of cognition and becomes a spiritual force in the soul. Carlyle thus bewilders his reader by apparently discussing Kant-citing the Critiquebut actually discussing a Post-Kantian doctrine.²² This becomes even clearer in Novalis23 where "Reason (Vernunft)" is called the "pure ultimate light of our nature; wherein, as they [the Transcendentalists] assert, lies the foundation of all Poetry, Virtue, Religion." Moreover, "the *Teologia* Mistica, so much venerated by Tasso . . .," the mysticism of Novalis, and "all true Christian Faith and Devotion," may be, in their essence, "designated by the name Reason." Although space forbids dwelling on the Post-Kantian ideas in these two essays, we may note in passing that the poetic language in them might spring naturally from reading Schelling. whose doctrines gave Reason the nature of artistic intuition and who conceived the world as the expression of an aesthetic Divine Ego. The moral nature of Reason, for Carlyle, apparently comes from Fichte's conception of the world as the expression of the Divine Idea, in which there is eternal moral struggle or development.24

If then, a great deal of Carlyle's discussion of Understanding

²² The expression "Post-Kantian" is not used by Carlyle. By "Kantist" and "Kantian" he meant, presumably, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and their followers. Technically, the Kantians were Schultz, Reinhold, Hufeland, Schütz, and the poet Schiller, who promulgated Kant's doctrines.

²³ Novalis, p. 205.

²³ Novalis, p. 205.

²⁴ From Kant's problem of knowledge, Fichte proceeded to the conception of the ego behind knowledge, which he derived (partly) from Kant's principle of the moral self, and which rises above space- and time-perception in its ability to pierce to reality through intellectual intuition, sometimes called "universal reason" by Fichte, and apparently what Carlyle means by the term Reason in his Kantian passages. The world becomes an Absolute ego, in which we as selves are channels for its expression. Matter has for us no objective reality, and can be known only as non-ego, the "sensualized material of our duty," affording a sort of moral friction whereby we progress. Carlyle found in these ideas a moral tonic, and evidently saw in them indications of the essentially spiritual nature of "matter," and a non-rational or spiritual access to truth through Kant's Reason interpreted as "intuition" or spiritual insight. From Schelling he seems to have taken the idea of the dynamic access to truth through Kant's Keason interpreted as "intuition" or spiritual insight. From Schelling he seems to have taken the idea of the dynamic nature of reality, into which we can pierce only through an aesthetic intellectual intuition. The influence of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling on the German romanticists seems to have been but imperfectly grasped by Carlyle; at least he never indicated their influences individually. (Cf. F. Thilly, History of Philosophy, N. Y. 1914, pp. 435-448; H. Höffding, History of Modern Philosophy, London, 1900, II, 153-161 and 162-169; and R. Haym, Die Romantische Schule, Berlin, 1870, 214 ff., and 583 ff.).

and Reason is based on his knowledge of Fichte and Schelling, how much of Kant's original doctrine may we find there? The answer is: relatively little. We may screw our courage up and attempt to state as briefly and precisely as possible the relationship between the two faculties in order to see just how far removed Carlyle's idea of them is from their nature in the Critique of Pure Reason. In Kant's work, Reason is "above" Understanding and works "by more subtle methods" "on higher objects" in the sense only of providing the judgments of Understanding with principles of unity. Our sense experience (or perception under the forms of time and space) yields concepts to the Understanding (in the form of judgments under the laws of the categories of cause, quantity, quality, and modality). The judgments of the Understanding (ordinary discursive reasoning) are in turn embraced under more comprehensive a priori concepts, not only embraced but also unified and reduced to the smallest possible number, by the operation of Reason. Thus Reason tends "to bring all mental processes under a general head, or Idea of a soul, in rational psychology; all physical events under the Idea of nature in rational cosmology; all occurrences in general under the Idea of a God in rational theology."25 Ideas are the forms of Reason in the same sense that time and space are forms of perception. They are merely transcendent, "beyond" experience, and have no empirical value or use except as guides to the Understanding in leading it onward in search of knowledge, giving our conceptions unity and coherence just as time and space as forms of our sense experience give unity and coherence to the welter of the physical world²⁶ Taken as substantial realities, these

²⁵ F. Thilly, *Hist. of Philos.* etc., pp. 409-410.

²⁶ Höffding sums up the doctrine succinctly and clearly thus: "By reason . . . [Kant] understands our faculty of knowledge in its tendency to perform unconditioned syntheses. While perception fashions the chaos of sensations into spatial and temporal sense-images, and while the understanding arranges these sense-images in the interconnection given by the concepts of quantity and causality, it is the task of reason . . . to close the series of terms, i.e. to form absolute totalities." That is, Reason is a unifying, directive, synthesizing faculty, pointing beyond perception and understanding (or experience) but never actually getting beyond it except in illusion. (Höffding, Hist. of Phil., etc. II, 53-4) It serves both to render conceptions complete and total and to lead Understanding to think ideas empirically unrealizable. (Cf. Kant, Krit. d. r. V., Schriften, III, 426-442; in which Kant repeats that Reason can never have an immediate object, though it can direct Understanding toward higher and higher ideas, without, however, permitting an extension beyond experience. This is its regulative function, turning Understanding in the direction of ideas of God, freedom, and immortality, which suggest but do not permit of empirical comprehension). (Cf. Edward Caird, Critical Phil. of Kant, Glasgow, 1909, II, 7, 12, 50, 124 ff.) "Reason is the faculty which supplies

Ideas (God, soul, nature) lead to illusion—Kant's "transcendental illusion." Reason thus understood is clearly not at all the Reason of which Carlyle is writing in the greater part of his exposition. It is too purely formal—epistemological—to satisfy Carlyle's desires. It has nothing to do with "Virtue" or "Poetry" or "Religion" in the affirmative sense in which Carlyle uses these words. Nor is it, for Kant, "the pure, ultimate light of our nature," inasmuch as Kant found that light in the moral law within us, as set forth in the Critique of Practical Reason. The proof of the existence of God is no more in the sphere of Reason than in that of the Understanding; both faculties, says Kant, are powerless before such a Thus Carlyle's assertion that Understanding falls into "everlasting paradoxes" when dealing with God and the infinite is also true of Reason.27 The "primitively true," the "holier region" of spiritual beauty and power, likewise, cannot be reached by Reason in an act of "intuition," since Reason is a purely regulative and unifying principle, devoid of dynamic qualities. It is clear that Carlyle was more interested in expressing a principle that maintained the power of man to reach a spiritual certainty of God, the soul, the unreality of "matter" and the limitations of discursive reason than in stating Kant's doctrine in its real nature and in its original terminology.

It thus becomes evident that the Kantian passages in the two essays we have examined deal only apparently with Kant's ideas, that, in spite of his mentioning the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* in both works,²⁸ he is really outlining the doctrines of Fichte—occasionally for Schelling.²⁹ Kant's services are obviously in his mind,

the principles of knowledge a priori' to "Understanding [which] may be defined as the faculty of judging [what is already given by perception]. For we saw before that the understanding is the faculty of thinking, and thinking is knowledge by means of concepts." (Century Dictionary, quoting from Kant).

²⁷ Kant, Kritik der reinen Vernunft, Schriften, III, 281-314; 403-410. The first reference here is to the antinomies of pure reason, the second to the transcendental illusion.

²⁸ German Literature, p. 63; Novalis, p. 204.

²⁹ Much of the State of German Literature and Novalis is devoted to ideas from Fichte and Schelling. Fichte's Über das Wesen des Gelehrten is cited in a footnote of the former essay, p. 51; Schelling's Methode des Academischen Studien is cited on p. 71, n.

In regard to the degree to which Carlyle absorbed Kantism and not Post-Kantism, it might be noted that Bos (*Le Kantisme de Carlyle*, etc.) holds that Carlyle was Kantian in only a very general sense, but nevertheless truly a follower, in spite of his greater affinity with Fichte. However, says Bos, his relationship with Kant's philosophy is primarily literary, and if he failed

but more as a ground for solutions than as the solutions themselves. To him Kant's writings, of which he probably knew more than he indicates, are elemental and fertile forces. They are great powers for good in art, morality, religion. But he fails to differentiate between them and the consequent principles which went to make up the great body of doctrine known roughly as German Idealism -the work of Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel. His general method and his ideas throughout the Kantian passages have convinced many of his critical admirers, among them Hensel, Bos, and Vaughan, that he failed not only in his exposition but also in showing that he had read and comprehended the whole of the Critique; and it may reasonably be doubted if he ever read the other works of Kant. His popular presentation, his evident confusion among a variety of philosophies, his dominating desire to extract from German thought what was helpful to him and to the age, all contrived to make his treatment provocative and brilliant but vague and unphilosophical; so that his discussion of space, time, Understanding, and Reason cannot stand as a fair representation of Kant's theories.

adequately to comprehend Kant's work he is to be exonerated, since he did note the importance of Criticism and the fundamental part which Kant played in it. (Bos, pp. 32-41). Like Bos, Pfannkuche denies Carlyle any great understanding of Kant's technical significance: "Richtig ist. dass Carlyle die theoretische Seite der Kantischen Philosophie seiner ganzen Natur nach nie völlig hat verstehen, geschweige denn würdigen können, wie auch seine Ausführungen über Kant zeigen. Um so mehr aber steht Carlyle in der Entwicklung seiner ganzen Weltanschauung unter dem Eindrucke des ethischteleologischen Geistes Kants. (A. Pfannkuche, Der Zweckbegriff bei Kant, in Kantstudien, (Vaihinger), Berlin, vol. V, 1901, p. 70 n.) Just how Carlyle drew from Kant an ethisch-teleologischen influence is, of course, beyond demonstration, and is derived only from the general over-tones of his discussion of Kant's ideas. For careful inspection of the two essays will reveal that when he writes of the theological (not teleological) and moral implications of "Kantism" he is thinking primarily of Fichte and Schelling.

TEXTUAL AND OTHER NOTES ON THE WINTER'S TALE

By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

1.—Modern editors are almost unanimous in locating Act I, scene 1, in "an ante-chamber in Leontes' palace," and scene 2 in "a room of state in the same." From the fact that Camillo is on the stage at the end of "scene 1" and at the beginning of "scene 2," it may be safely inferred, if there is anything in the so-called "law of re-entry," that in Shakspere's mind these two scenes were regarded as one. Archidamus and Camillo stand aside as the King and his train enter (at l. 47, ed. Furness), just as Kent and Gloster in King Lear stand aside when Lear and his train enter. During the ensuing scene Archidamus unobtrusively makes his exit, just as Edmund does in Lear. That Shakspere did not intend a change of scene is sufficiently indicated by his failure to put into the mouth of either Camillo or Archidamus words signifying an intention to depart. In all other scenes in this play the dramatist adequately accounts for or motivates the exits of his dramatis personae.

2. "The Heavens continue their Loues" (I. i, 34).

The error of "Loues" for "Love" illustrates a remarkably frequent phenomenon in the Folio. That the interpolation of an unnecessary s at the end of a word had its origin "in some peculiarity of Shakspere's handwriting" was tentatively suggested by the late Dr. Furness (therein following Sidney Walker). To one who is familiar with Elizabethan manuscripts there can be very little doubt that the compositor's mistaking of final e for es, or the reverse, is evidence that the poet or his transcriber sometimes terminated words either with a rather large Italian e or with an Italian e in which the back of the letter (i.e., the curve on the left side of the letter) was prolonged downward below the line of writing, as a kind of flourish, and terminated there. Such an enlarged or elongated e was (and is) easily mistaken for the old English es symbol. A striking example of an es symbol resembling an Italian e in every

¹ The late Professor Graves' essay, "The act-time in Elizabethan theatres" (Studies in Philology, July 1915, vol. 12, pp. 103-34), has convinced me that Shakspere conceived of his plays in terms of acts and scenes.

respect is shown in the word "dettes" in the eleventh line of the third page, and in the word "merittes" in the fifth line of the first page, of Shakspere's will. (The handwriting of Shakspere's Warwickshire contemporaries should, and does, throw much light on what Shakspere's penmanship is likely to have been.) How readily such e's and es symbols may be mistaken for each other is well illustrated by Mr. Macray's errors in this regard in his transcript of The Pilgrimage to Parnassus and Part I of The Return from Parnassus from manuscripts Rawlinson D 398.²
3.—"Too hot, too hot" (I. ii, 134).

The suddenness and intensity of Leontes' jealousy have greatly troubled the commentators. To those who are not familiar with the psychology and clinical manifestations of pathological jealousy (i.e., jealousy which is not justified by the external facts), Leontes appears to have gone mad suddenly. But the theory of sudden insanity in the protagonist of a Shaksperian drama is not only repugnant to our estimate of Shakspere as an artist but is untenable in view of Leontes' otherwise perfectly normal mentation throughout the play. It is, no doubt, absurd to credit Shakspere with a formulated knowledge of psychiatry greatly in advance of his times: but it is equally absurd to deny to such a close observer as Shakspere was the power of intuitively apprehending the psychological mechanism of sudden unreasoning and unreasonable jealousy in a person of Leontes' nature. From what we see of Leontes we know that he is extremely wilful and autocratic, unaccustomed to being crossed in his desires. He is egotistical beyond bounds proud, self-willed, and tyrannical. This spoiled child-for he is that—suddenly finds himself thwarted in one of his whims: his friend Polixenes stubbornly refuses to prolong his stay at the Sicilian Court. Out of politeness, rather than from any real desire to have Polixenes defer his departure, Hermione seconds her husband's request and suggests how their guest may be prevailed upon to stay.



² See my paper, "Corrections to the Text of the Parnassus Trilogy" in a forthcoming issue of Studies in Philology. Such e:es errors in The Winter's Tale occur also in I. ii, 190 (where the poet probably wrote "As Ornamente oft do's"), II. iii, 128 ("his Smile"), II. iii, 178 ("Lords"), III. ii, 178 ("Lords"), IV. iv, 190 ("hides"), IV, iii, 58 ("offend"), IV. iv, 5 ("Do's") IV. iv, 123 ("Mints"), IV. iv, 167 ("deeds"), V. ii, 35 ("Hermiones") and V. ii, 49 ("Countenance"). I may say here, with a reasonable degree of certainty, that this e:es error explains the famous crux—"runaway's eyes"—in Romeo and Juliet. Shakspere wrote "runawaie eies" and meant "roaming, shifty, wandering eyes." the eyes of busybodies.

Leontes withdraws, leaving Polixenes to Hermione's persuasions. On his return he finds, to his great chagrin, that she has prevailed where he had failed. This blow to his vanity fills his heart on the instant with hatred both of his wife and his lifelong friend. Such hatred, in a person like Leontes, who must think of himself as justified in his emotions, can probably manifest itself most easily as jealousy, inasmuch as no other emotion is so little dependent upon external facts for justification.

In a comment (p. 43) on I. ii, 279, Dr. Furness is inclined to interpret Leontes' jealousy as a projection upon Polixenes and Hermione of his own guilt. This sort of Freudian explanation has, in my humble opinion, nothing to commend it. Shakspere gives us no reason for thinking that Leontes was given to promiscuity. Had Leontes been that kind of a man, he, or Camillo, or possibly even Hermione, would have given us a hint of it, and he would not have sequestered himself from women for sixteen years. As a professional psychotherapeutist who has often been called upon to treat patients, male and female, suffering from that most dreadful affliction—pathological jealousy—I may say that persons given to promiseuity do not suspect their mates to be guilty of illicit relations just because they themselves are guilty. The theory put forward by Dr. Furness is as untenable as it would be to say that Leontes' jealousy is a manifestation of chronic alcoholism, or that, as the Freudians would maintain, it is due to his "projecting" into his wife's mind an unconscious (homosexual) love which he himself has for his friend Polixenes.

4.—"thy Intention stabs the Center" (I. ii, 167).

There can be put little doubt that Shakspere wrote "Intension," i.e., intensity, intenseness, not "Intention." That elsewhere too Shakspere's Italian s, resembling an elongated "8" or modern German h, was mistaken for a t, I shall show later on. Had the word been written in the Old English script ("Intencon" or "Intension") it would not have been mistaken for "Intention," unless the compositor did not know what "Intencion" or "Intension" meant.

5.—"How? my Lord?" (I, ii, 178).

This should be printed thus: "Ho, my lord!" Polixenes, having just been told by Hermione that her husband seems "something unsettled," cheerily hails his friend with the words quoted. That is why the latter, simulating a mood he does not feel, replies: "What

cheer? how is't with you, best Brother?" "How" for "ho" occurs elsewhere too in the Folio. Note, for example, The Merchant of Venice, V. i, 120 ("Peace, how the Moone sleepes with Endimion"). 6.—"You had much adoe to make his Anchor hold, / When you cast out, it still came home" (I. ii, 249-50).

Camillo's words here and in ll. 252-53 are to me the most puzzling in this play. They would be perfectly natural in him if he were a villain, an Iago bent on ruining his king and confidant; but, since we know him to be honorable, we can regard his unfortunate words only as an indication of a lapse in Shakspere's artistry. language was calculated to account for the onrush of Leontes' jealousy. Camillo's speech was dramatically, not psychologically, determined; unless we take the view that Camillo's mind was childishly constituted, and that the relations between him and the king were of such an intimate nature that he took the liberty to tease his sovereign about his failure to overcome Polixenes' determination to depart. The only other possible explanation that occurs to me is that at some previous time Camillo had predicted that Leontes would not prevail on Polixenes to prolong his sojourn at his court. This interpretation would find support in 1. 248 if we read it thus: "this great Sir will yet stay longer."

7.—"Ha?" (I. ii, 270).

Dr. Furness thought that Leontes' interrogation indicated that he had expected a different conclusion to Camillo's preceding sentence. But I think we come nearer Leontes' psychology if we regard his "Ha?" as an exclamation of amazement and almost terror, as if he meant to say to Camillo, "Do you mean to tell me that most of my subjects understand that I am a cuckold!" In the Folio exclamations are frequently printed as interrogations.

8.—"Good expedition be my friend, and comfort The gracious Queene, part of his Theame; but nothing Of his ill-ta'en suspition" (I. ii, 528-30).

These lines have given rise to much discussion, and various emendations have been proposed. Dr. Furness thought that our respect for the terrified Polixenes would be retained if we interpreted the lines so as to make it appear that his stealthy flight was incited by a chivalrous devotion to the unsuspecting Hermione and was really an act of heroic self-sacrifice. He therefore paraphrased the speech thus: "May my hasty departure prove my best course, and bring that comfort it may to the gracious Queen whose name cannot but

be linked with mine in the King's thoughts, but who is not yet the fatal object of his ill-founded suspicion."

The objections to Dr. Furness's interpretation are at least two: it does not preserve our respect for Polixenes; no sensible man, finding himself the victim of such vindictive jealousy, could have thought that the woman would not be suspected and hated as much as he was—and, because of his flight, even more. We must remember that Camillo had informed Polixenes (l. 482) that Leontes had sworn "with all confidence" that his Queen had been touched forbiddenly. And Polixenes should have known that flight would be interpreted as confession. The honorable thing to do would have been to stay and face his accuser.

"Part of his theme" is so tame an expression, so prosaic, so irrelevant, that I cannot believe that Shakspere wrote it. To read "dream" (Collier) or "throne" (Cuningham) for "theme" does not improve the passage. If for "theme" we substitute the word "shame," meaning "disgrace," we have, I think, what Shakspere wrote. Leontes' public accusation of Hermione would inevitably "shame" both the accuser and the accused forever. "Shame," spelled "sheame" (see the N.E.D.), whether written with an Italian s or with an old English S, could easily be misread by the compositor as "theame" or "Theame." Kellner (Restoring Shakespeare, pp. 104, 111) cites examples of errors due to the confusing of s with t and t with s. That the capital T and S could also be mistaken for each other is curiously illustrated by Mr. John Pym Yeatman's mistaking the T (for "Testamentum") on page 1 of Shakspere's will for an S ("Sigilium").

9.—"The trick of's Frowne, his Fore-head, nay, the Valley,

The pretty dimples of his Chin, and Cheeke" (II. iii, 127-28). The editors have not understood the meaning of the word "Valley" in this passage. Hanmer altered it to "valleys"—a change which a number of succeeding editors have adopted. Most modern editors interpret the word as synonymous with the "dimples" of line 128. And Dr. Furness, always original and witty, thought the word referred to "some characteristic of a frowning forehead (which, let us hope, Perdita outgrew)." But I have not the slightest doubt that in Shakspere's mind the "valley" was the dimple in the middle of the upper lip which modern anatomists call the "philtrum" and which some of the anatomists of the seventeenth century (e.g., Dr. Thomas Gibson in his Anatomy of Humane Bodies, 1694) called "the groove."

10.—"the Heauens (taking angry note)

Have left me Issue-lesse: and your Father's bless'd

(As he from Heaven merits it) with you" (V. i, 211-13).

In the second of these verses the word "and" should certainly be omitted—it spoils the metre and is, to say the least, unnecessary to the sense. That the error should have escaped all previous editors and commentators is truly miraculous.

11.—"Although the Print be little, the whole Matter And coppy of the Father" (II. iii, 125-26).

The matter being the copy, I think we should substitute "A" for "And" in l. 126. The error of "and" for "a"—if error it be—is repeated in IV. iv, 198 ("They call him Doricles, and boasts himselfe/ To have a worthy Feeding"). Professor Kellner (op. cit., pp. 125-28) gives a number of interesting illustrations of the compositors' failure to distinguish between "a" and "and"; he thinks that the error arose from the habit of writing "a." for "and." Having never seen an instance of "a." for "and" in an Elizabethan or Jacobean manuscript, I think it much more likely that the error —by no means peculiar to Shakspere's works—originated in the poet's or the scribe's mode of making an a with a longish descending stroke to the right of the initial oval (the left half of the letter), or of beginning the a with a long curved upstroke. Such a's would easily be mistaken for the old English ampersand (&).

The opposite error—"A" for "And"—occurs at I. ii, 128 ("A clap thy selfe my Loue"). This, it seems, corroborates my view expressed in the previous paragraph.

12.—The caption heading Act III. Scene 1, has given the editors a great deal of trouble. Theobald, failing to realize the true dramatic purport of the scene, suggested that it ought to be printed and acted as the last scene of Act II. For the same reason, too, in all probability, the editors are at odds whether the scene is laid in "Sicily, near the Sea-side" (Theobald), "A street in some town" in Sicily (Capell), "Delphi, near the Temple of Apollo" (Halliwell), or "A Seaport in Sicilia" (the Cambridge editors). A proper consideration of the scene makes it almost certain that Cleomenes and Dion, with one or more Attendants ("Goe: fresh Horses," at l. 28, is surely said to an Attendant), are now at an inn in the capital of Sicilia. They have changed their travel-stained garments and are preparing their respective reports of what they had seen and experienced at "Delphos." On their arrival in Sicilia,

near the close of Act II, they had despatched messengers to the King, who thereupon at once proceeded to the trial of Hermione. That is why the Queen was hurried "with immodest hatred" into a public place before she had got "strength of limit," i.e., before she had barely strength enough to enable her to comply with her husband's cruel orders.

13.—"You (my Lord) best know

(Whom least will seeme to doe so) my past life" (III. ii, 35). Inasmuch as there is no possibility here of a "confusion of constructions" or of "contamination by attraction," we must regard the "Whom" as a compositor's error. Remembering that in Elizabethan manuscripts final m was frequently indicated by a slight upward and backward flourish from the letter preceding the m, and that Shakspere—as his signatures show3—was in the habit of making such terminal flourishes even where none was needed, it is reasonably certain that the compositor's error was due to such a superfluous flourish in the manuscript from which he was setting up the play. From a careful consideration of the remarkably accurate text and the punctiliousness with which elisions and contractions are indicated in the Folio printing of this play, I have not the slightest doubt that in the case of The Winter's Tale the publisher had access to the poet's original manuscript. No mere playhouse transcriber would have copied all the elisions and con-

In the "whom" of IV. iv, 390 and 472 we have other instances of the error we have just been considering.

14.— "then, all stand still:

tractions which characterize this play.

On: those that thinke it is unlawful Businesse I am about, let them depart" (V. iii, 119-21).

The word "On" has perplexed the critics, and rightly so. Paulina cannot be supposed to be saying "Let us go on" just after she had said "all stand still." Hanmer's substitution of "Or" for "On" is grammatically impossible, no alternative construction being involved. The other emendations recorded by Dr. Furness fail to take the colon after the objectionable word into consideration. To me it seems clear that "On:" is an error for "Oh!" Just as Paulina is about to give the signal for Hermione to descend, she pretends to have been suddenly struck with the thought that some of her visitors may think she is in league with spirits of evil. We

³ See my book, Problems in Shakspere's Penmanship, pp. 38, 42, 57, 60, 119.

have a very similar construction in IV. iv, 748 ("O Perdita: what have we twaine forgot?"). The *n* after the "o" most probably resulted from such a terminal flourish as I discussed in Note 13, above. Shakspere, like his contemporaries, in all probability began his lines with capital letters only occasionally.

15.—"Oh that he were aliue, and here beholding His Daughters Tryall" (III. ii, 128-29).

The music of the lines would be greatly improved by removing the comma after "aliue" and putting it after "here."

16.— "her eyes

Became two spouts; the furie spent, anon Did this breake from her'' (III. iii, 32-34).

For "the furie" we should undoubtedly read "their furie." The scribe who wrote the first and second parts of the Parnassus trilogy often wrote "ye" for "they." Shakspere may have done something very much like this and even written "yr" for "their." A compositor accustomed to such contractions might occasionally mistake such a "yr" abbreviation for "ye" and set up "the" instead of "their." An r flourish is often identical with the epsilon variety of e in old documents. "The fury spent" sounds as if Antigonus were applying the opprobrious term "fury" to Hermione.

17.— "take vp, take vp" (III. iii, 121).

Surely "take" is an error for "take't." Final t often can be distinguished from final e only with considerable difficulty. Shakspere probably wrote "takt" for "tak't."

18.— "When Daffodils begin to peere" (IV. iii, 3).

For "to peere" we should perhaps print "to 'pear" or "t'appear." (We have "t'appeare" in III. ii, 52.) The "ee" in "peere" is no argument against the proposed alteration, inasmuch as "dears" is spelled "deers" in IV. iv, 257. In IV. iv, 6, "Peering" should probably also be regarded as a variant of "'pearing." 19.—Camillo, always politic, speaking of Florizel to the worried and unhappy Polixenes, says: "I have (missingly) noted, he is of late much retyred from Court." The word "missingly" has, rightly, puzzled the commentators. Hanmer altered it to "musingly" and Warburton to "missing him." But none of the interpretations recorded by Dr. Furness seems to me to convey the meaning intended. I therefore propose that we read "wittingly," in the sense of "deisgnedly," "with a purposed cunning," "calculatingly." In

Shakespeare's handwriting "wittingly" would have looked very much like "missingly."

20.—Modern editors are unanimous in calling for Leontes, Antigonus, Lords and Attendants to be on the stage at the opening of II. 3. The Folio text, evidently set up from the poet's manuscript which served as the play-house copy, indicates the presence of Paulina too ("Enter Leontes, Seruants, Paulina, Antigonus, and Lords"). It is curious that the editors should not have noticed that Leontes is on the stage alone up to line 12, where the Servant enters. Leontes' opening speech is a soliloquy. That no one is with him at the opening of this scene is proved by his words to the servant in line 22 ("Leaue me solely," i.e., leave me to myself). Paulina and the Lords do not enter at line 32, though modern editions make them do so. She is heard wrangling with the Lords offstage (i.e., in the tiring-house behind the rear stage) till line 50, when, holding the infant in her arms, she forces an entrance and is followed by Antigonus and the others.

The error regarding the movements of the dramatis personae in this scene is per se sufficient to disprove Professor Alfred Pollard's statement4 that this play's "stage-directions have been purged from all trace of the prompt-copy." As a matter of fact, the Folio text of this play presents us with an unusually large number of relics of the stage-director's or prompter's handiwork. The above is not the only instance in this play of the un-dramatic enumeration at the head of a scene of all the persons appearing in the scene, even though some of them do not make their entry until some time subsequently. This is notably the case at the opening of III. 3 ("Enter Antigonus, a Marriner, Babe, Sheepeheard, and Clowne''). The stage-direction at the opening of II. 2 reads "Enter Paulina, a Gentleman, Gaoler, Emilia," even though Emilia does not enter till line 26. No more striking example of the playhouse practice of naming at the beginning all the characters needed in a scene can be found than that at the opening of IV. 4 ("Enter Florizell, Perdita, Shepherd, Clowne, Polixenes, Camillo, Mopsa, Dorcas, Seruants, Autolicus"), even though the only persons required at the opening are Florizel and Perdita, the Servant not entering until line 211, Autolycus entering at line 249 and the others at line 62. In this scene we have two stage-directions calling for dances, at lines 194 and 370 ("Heere a Daunce of Shepheards and Shepheard-

⁴ Shakespeare Folios and Quartos, 1909, p. 135.

esses," "Heere a Dance of twelue Satyres", which to my ear sound like the book-keeper's memoranda. In V. 1, Seruants, Florizel, and Perdita are marked as present at the opening of the scene, though the Servant does not enter till line 107 and Florizel and Perdita do not come on the scene till line 155. A most interesting illustration of the book-keeper's practice is shown in his calling for "Hermione (like a statue)" at the opening of V. 3, though she is not revealed till line 26. The poet did not do that. We may safely conclude, then, that, Professor Pollard to the contrary notwithstanding, the text of this play has not "been purged from all trace of the prompt-copy."

From the relative scarcity of stage-directions in the Folio text of this play, based (as I think) on the original manuscript, it is fairly evident that Shakspere, like most of his contemporaries, and unlike Anthony Mundy, was very parsimonious in the matter of stage-directions. He was evidently of the opinion that these could be supplied by himself, or the director, or the actors themselves, during rehearsal. To account for the erroneous scene-headings in the text we need only assume that the director, in anticipation of preparing his "plot," went through the manuscript assembling at the opening of each scene the names of the characters appearing in that scene. That the editors of the Folio paid no attention to stage-directions and stage-business is certain. They probably thought that such things concerned only actors and would be of no interest or value to readers.

NOTES ON SMOLLETT

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I. THE TEARS OF SCOTLAND

Professor Buck has reconstructed for the first time the history of Smollett's best poem, The Tears of Scotland.¹ Seccombe, following Hannay, had said that its earliest known appearance was in the Collection of the Most Esteemed Pieces of Poetry, London, 1767, although he added that the poem "was almost certainly published in a separate form during the summer of 1746." Buck calls attention to the copy of the poem in separate form, undated but certainly early, in the Harvard Library, and points out that it appears also in The Union: or Select Scots and English Poems, Edinburgh, 1753. He infers that the poem was written immediately after Culloden, won widespread approval when circulated privately, was perhaps published anonymously in July, 1746, as The Groans of Scotland, and soon afterwards in the version represented by the Harvard copy.

To this excellent synthesis one piece of evidence may be added. The Tears of Scotland is also to be found in Newbery's Art of Poetry on a New Plan, London, 1762, I, 76-78. A brief introduction associates the poem with Smollett's name for perhaps the first time in print,² and gives us additional information about its early history. After remarking that a civil war is an eminently suitable subject for elegy the editor continues: "We have on this subject a most affecting Elegy, intituled the Tears of Scotland, ascribed to Dr. Smollet, and set to music by Mr. Oswald, just after the late rebellion." In this connection it would be interesting to examine the collection of songs "set to music by James Oswald" listed among the new publications in the Gentleman's Magazine, August, 1751. At any rate we have other evidence of Smollett's relations with Oswald. In or about 1747 Smollett wrote to Dr. Alexander Carlyle:

¹ Smollett as Poet, New Haven, 1927, pp. 20-33.

² In the third edition of *The Union*, 1766, the poem is also given to Smollett. Cf. Buck, op. cit., p. 24.

I would have been more punctual had it not been for Oswald the musician, who promised from time to time to set your songs to music, that I might have it in my power to gratify the author in you, by sending your productions so improved. Your gay catches please me much, and the Lamentations of Fanny Gardner has a good deal of nature in it, though, in my opinion, it might be bettered. Oswald has set it to an excellent tune, in the Scotch style; but as it is not yet published, I cannot regale you with it at present.³

At about this time Oswald no doubt performed the same office for The Tears of Scotland.

II. SMOLLETT AND RICHARDSON

On August 10, 1756, Smollett sent to Samuel Richardson a letter beginning:

I was extremely concerned to find myself suspected of a Silly, mean Insinuation against Mr. Richardson's Writings, which appeared some time ago in the Critical Review and I desired my friend Mr. Millar to assure you in my name that it was inserted without my privity or Concurrence.⁴

Professor Noyes thinks that this disclaimer refers to a passage in a review of a novel called *The Supposed Daughter*:

This at least we can say in his favour, that his incidents come thick upon you; his relations are told with brevity; and had the writer of Sir Charles Grandison been to have worked upon his materials he would easily have swelled them into twenty folio volumes.⁵

As Noyes suggests, these words seem too mild to call for a formal apology. But in the same number of the *Critical* was printed a long quotation from Fulke Greville's anonymously published *Maxims, Characters, and Reflexions,* in which Richardson's art is judiciously but severely discussed. The passage is worth reprinting as significant contemporary criticism of Richardson, and as the probable occasion of Smollett's letter:

There is a certain author who produces perpetual paradoxes in my mind; I am at a loss to decide whether he charms or offends me most, whether to call him the first of writers or the last: and this one would think a difficulty likewise with other people; for he has written what has had merit enough to get into all hands, and defect enough to be flung out of all. It is his great praise, his honour, that he is condemned by sensible men, and applauded by weak women; for the first are often as ignorant of the powers of the heart, as the last are of those of the understanding. He is in many particulars the most minute, fine, delicate, observer of human nature I ever met with, the most refined and just in his sentiments; but he often carries that refinement into puerility, and that justness into tastelessness: he not only enters upon those beautiful and touching distinctions which the gross conceptions of most men are incapable of discerning, but he falls also upon all the trivial silly



³ E. S. Noyes, *The Letters of Tobias Smollett, M.D.* Cambridge, 1926, pp. 6-7. Cf. also pp. 117-18.

⁴ Noyes, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 152-53.

circumstances of society, which can have attractions only for a nursery. This writer possesses infinite powers both of delicacy and reason, but he possesses not the judicious faculty of directing those powers: he is deficient in Taste; hence he is irregular and false in his notions of the manners he treats of; he plainly shews that he has neither from nature nor education the kind of intelligence, which should guide him in the pursuit he attempts: his understanding seems to be hampered and confined; it wants enlargement, freedom, or, to say all in one word, Taste: his men of the world are strange debauchees; his women ridiculously outrées, both in good and bad qualities: parts there are, not only of the most refin'd, the most elevated, I had almost said the most celestial delicacy; but even of gaiety, ease, and agreeableness; but you see plainly that the writer is not a master; deficiencies, stiffness, improprieties, break in upon you at times, and shock you; and you grieve that he does not please you more—or less.⁶

Richardson had at this time only a vague notion of the "silly mean insinuation" in question. He replied placidly that though Andrew Millar had spoken to him of the criticism, he had not seen it, and that "prolixity, length at least, cannot be avoided in letters written to the moment." Some months later, in a letter to the Rev. Samuel Lobb, he took definite notice of Greville's criticism:

As to Mr. Greville, I know not the gentleman by person; by character, I am told he is a lively, gay man, one who knows what they call high life. I contented myself to say to a friend, in perusing his censure on me, that possibly the gentleman might be right in one half of what he said against me; and, as to the other half, if he valued himself on the superior opportunities he has had to be polite and well-educated, and the writings of both were to be the test of our merits, it would, by competent judges, perhaps be as much matter of wonder that I did no worse, than that he did not perform better.8

In the letter of August 10 Smollett had thanked Richardson for his "judicious Remarks on the Plan of my History." And Richardson answered:

I am no less obliged to you, good Sir, for your taking so kindly the little hint I presumed to offer on a plan I was very much pleased with, and which I wished to be followed, as to the main of it, by any gentleman who should be induced to undertake the writing of a new History of England. I had not offered those poor and insignificant hints, had I not been greatly taken with your plan.

Richardson's approval of Smollett as an historian appears also in one of his letters to Young, July 19, 1757: "I am glad to hear you like Dr. Smollett's History of England." Noyes points out

⁶ Critical Review, I (April, 1756), 224-25. Third ed., London, 1768, \$CXXV, pp. 51-52. Monthly Magazine, XLVI (1818), 134.

⁷ Richardson to Smollett, August 13, 1756, printed in the *Port Folio*, I (1801), 2-3, and in Robert Anderson's *Life of Tobias Smollett*, *M.D.*, Edinburgh, 1806, pp. 185-86.

⁸ The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson, ed. A. L. Barbauld, London, 1804, I, 191-92.

⁹ Monthly Magazine, XLIII (1817), 328.

that the plan under discussion in 1756 must have been for Smollett's Compleat History of England, but adds that he finds no evidence that the two novelists had business relations before the arrangements for the Modern Part of the Universal History, under way in 1760. Richardson ended the letter of August 13, however, "with wishes for your success in every undertaking, as well as in that before us," and this suggests that the two men were carrying on business negotiations at this time. It should also be observed that as early as 1751 Richardson was interested in arrangements for the Modern Part of the Universal History.

I am concerned in the work, called, The Universal History, from the Earliest Accounts of Time: the ancient part of which is published in twenty volumes, octavo. Do you, or Mr. Greene, or Mr. Sharp, know any gentleman in your university, who would be willing to engage in writing any part of the modern history, which is now pursuing; and several hands employed in it!11

III. SMOLLETT AND CHURCHILL

One of the best known chapters in Smollett's unfortunate career as editor is the train of consequences that followed the review of the Rosciad in the Critical. The reviewer suggested that the poem was written by Lloyd or Colman, or at any rate that it was "the production, jointly or separately, of the new triumvirate of wits."12 Within a few days Churchill's authorship was known to the town, and Smollett hastened to disclaim responsibility for the blunder¹³ In a notice of the third edition of the Rosciad we learn that two members of the triumvirate had taken immediate advantage of the situation. "Mr. L--- took his revenge in a fable conceived against the Critical Reviewers, and published in an evening paper; and the real author if the Rosciad set his name at full length to the second edition of the poem." The enterprising Lloyd continued to insert a disavowal in the newspapers from day to day, and also treated the same fruitful subject in two poems—The Law-Student. To George Colman, Esq., and an Epistle to C. Churchill. Churchill himself briskly penned his Apology addressed to the Critical Reviewers, with its elaborate attack on Smollett. Though the whole episode was merged in the even noisier controversies that centered

¹⁰ Noyes, op. cit., p. 153.

¹¹ Richardson to John Duncombe, December 12, 1751. Correspondence, ed. Barbauld, II, 279.

¹² I.e., Colman, Lloyd, and Thornton. Crit. Rev., XI (March, 1761), 212.

¹³ For Goldsmith's playful summary of the early stages of the war over the Rosciad, see The Citizen of the World, Letter CXIII.

¹⁴ Crit. Rev., XI (April, 1761), 339-40.

about Wilkes, it helped to confirm Smollett's reputation as a splenetic reviewer, and to make his name a byword. Thus the *Trium*virate, which sides with Churchill, Colman, and Lloyd, speaks ironically of the "Truth and Candour" of the *Critical Review* and of the potent name of Smollett. The *Rosciad of C-V-NT-G-RD-N* utters the usual sentiments:

How can I hope my all-unworthy Muse, Will 'scape the malice of those fell Reviews? Who ('cause the ROSCIAD's Author dar'd reflect On the low Master of their paltry Sect) By that great hero, mighty SM-LL-T led, Pour all that feeble vengeance on his head.16

Meanwhile Churchill, though he never again attacked Smollett on the scale of the Apology, made him the chief exponent of the "Critic trade" in The Ghost, 17 and in The Author referred to him as a pensioner of the government—"What makes Smollet write, makes Johnson dumb." The Crisis, An Ode, to John Wilkes, Esq., parallels Clodius and Smollett as defamers of merit. 19 The Scourge, a poem in defence of Churchill published shortly after his death, brackets Smollett with Shebbeare. 20

Smollett retorted in kind. The Critical snarled at the Triumvirate in this style:

The Triumvirate as it now stands is a panegyric conveyed in ironical doggerel rhimes, on the three invincible, C—h—ll, C—l—n, and L—d. . . . Long life, and redundancy of carrion, to this leash of staunch hounds, the ravenous C—ll, the yelping C—n, and the howling L—d.21

And this vein of sub-literary abuse unfortunately crops out in the *Briton* also; thus in the number for August 21, 1762, Wilkes, Lloyd, Churchill, and Colman are attacked as Jack Dandy, Paedagogus Latro, Bruin, and Lawyer Small.²² On August 29 a supposed correspondent describes Churchill and Lloyd in the following terms:

I am provided with two staunch understrappers, one of them a reverend

¹⁵ London, 1761, p. 3. Cf. Crit. Rev., XII (1761), 318-19.

¹⁶ London, 1762, p. 31. Eric Partridge, Poems of Cuthbert Shaw and Thomas Russell, London, 1925, p. 19, attributes this poem to Shirley.

¹⁷ London, 1762, second ed., p. 13.

¹⁸ London, 1763. Publius, in this poem, is obviously not Smollett, but some man high in public office. Later commentators follow Tooke in this mistaken identification.

¹⁹ London, 1763, p. 5.

²⁰ Part I. London, 1765, p. 11.

²¹ Crit. Rev., XII (1761), 318-19.

²² Reprinted in *Political Controversy*, London, 1762, pp. 219-20.

deacon in a laced hat and leather breeches; the other a learned pedagogue, without any breeches at all. Their appetites are very keen; their teeth very sharp: they are coupled together and crouch for employment, eager to bite, and tear, and taint, and havock. Backed by these twin terriers, I'll engage to attack any set of men or measures; to dash thro' thick and thin; to swear and forswear, forge calumny, detract and retract, affirm and deny, bespatter and bedaub, without any scruple of conscience, or stings of compunction.²³

But Smollett had already done better than this. The passage of August 29 parallels a vigorous criticism of Churchill in the later chapters of Sir Launcelot Greaves, which had been running in the British Magazine during the Rosciad controversy. Under Smollett's editorship the British Magazine had at first only this to say of the Rosciad: "Poetry and praise, sense and satire: the praise laid on with a trowel, the satire with a flail." But in Chapter xxiii of Sir Launcelot Greaves, originally published in the British Magazine for October, 1761, the hero, incarcerated in a mad-house, meets and talks with the poet and satirist Dick Distich. 25

Ben Bullock and I (said he) were confident against the world in arms—did you ever see his ode to me beginning with 'Fair blooming youth?' We were sworn brothers, admired and praised, and quoted each other, sir: we denounced war against all the world, actors, authors, and critics; and having drawn the sword, threw away the scabbard—we pushed through thick and thin, hacked and hewed helter skelter, and became as formidable to the writers of the age as the Boeotian band of Thebes. My friend Bullock, indeed, was once rolled in the kennel; but soon

He vig'rous rose, and from th' effluvia strong Imbib'd new life, and scour'd and stunk along.26

Here is a satire, which I wrote in an ale-house when I was drunk—I can prove it by the evidence of the landlord and his wife: I fancy you'll own I have some right to say with my friend Horace,

Qui me commorit, melius non tangere clamo; Flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.

Dick Distich and Ben Bullock are evidently Churchill and Lloyd. Sir Launcelot calmly replies that Distich's rimes are tolerably good, but that he is guilty of wanton attacks on men of reputation and genius. Pope's dunces richly deserved castigation, but Boileau stained his fame by attacking "men of acknowledged genius." "If this disingenuous conduct cannot be forgiven in a writer of his superior genius, who will pardon it in you, whose name is not half emerged from obscurity?" Distich makes an angry reply, and in the next chapter Sir Launcelot takes leave of him, surly



²³ Ibid., p. 255.

²⁴ II (March, 1761), 161.

²⁵ The name is of course from Pope's famous paper in the Guardian, No. 92.

²⁶ Dunciad, II, ll. 105-106, inaccurately quoted.

and unrepentant, galling a fellow-prisoner "with keen iambics" and sending a contemptuous message to Ben Bullock. Here for once Smollett takes his adversary's measure, and calmly denies him a place in the great tradition of English satire. Though he borrows some details from Pope, he takes a lesson from Churchill's own master and approaches his subject in the analytical and relatively dispassionate style of Dryden. No better criticism of Churchill is to be found in the Billingsgate of the 1760's.

LEGAL PRECEDENT IN ATHENIAN COURTS¹

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No ancient treatise has come down to us with an authoritative and comprehensive statement on the nature and significance of the citation of past judgments before the Athenian dicastery. Anaximines of Lampsacus,2 it is true, recommends the citation of previous decisions in the court-room; in his estimation, the consideration of cases decided by former courts may be helpful in the interpretation of the law. But his discussion is brief and does not enable us to draw any definite conclusions concerning the use and effect of precedent under the Athenian legal system.3 Aristotle, as Professor R. J. Bonner has pointed out in his recent book,4 urges the citation of cases likely to be familiar to the dicasts. Unfortunately, however, Aristotle's Rhetoric does not deal with the oratory of Demosthenes, 'a master of legal precedent'; otherwise, a fuller statement would probably have been forthcoming. Hence. an investigation of the problem under discussion is confined almost wholly to a study of the actual employment of precedent in the extant body of Attic oratory. The important question as to whether or not an Athenian court was bound to follow previous decisions has already been answered in the negative by Wyse.⁶ Further-

¹ Read before the American Philological Association at Cincinnati, Ohio, December 30, 1927. To Professor George M. Calhoun I am indebted for various suggestions in connection with this paper.

² Ars Rhetorica ad Alexandrum, 1. (pp. 8, 9, ed. Spengel)

³ l.c. "... from matters already judged, (the lawful becomes evident) in the following manner. Not only I maintain that the lawgiver established this law for these reasons, but also formerly, when Lysithides pointed out things similar to those uttered by me now, the dicasts voted the same concerning this law."

⁴ Lawyers and Litigants in Ancient Athens, p. 181.

⁵ This phrase is applied to Demosthenes by Professor C. D. Adams in his excellent book on Demosthenes in the "Our Debt to Greece and Rome" series, p. 70.

⁶ A Companion to Greek Studies, Whibley, pp. 476, 7 (Article on Law by Wyse): "No development of law was possible; nothing excited the suspicion and mistrust of the judges so much as a display of legal subtlety. No body of precedent to supplement or interpret the written code could be formed from recorded judgments. The conclusions of a court were bare affirmations or negations, not discriminating between law and fact, applicable only to a

more, Professor R. J. Bonner, who discusses the matter of legal precedent in ancient Athens somewhat more fully, states specifically that "the effect of Athenian precedents was not legal but psychological." This aspect of the general problem, therefore, which has already been treated by scholars who are especially qualified to speak in this field, will not be considered anew. The present study represents an attempt to analyze the nature of the precedents used by the Attic orators and to determine the effectiveness of such citations.

The closest approach, according to Professor Bonner,⁸ to the discussion of precedents in a modern court is in the speech of Demosthenes against Meidias. The plaintiff first shows that certain precedents which the defendant was expected to cite are not applicable and then proceeds to describe other cases showing how careful the Athenians were to assess heavy penalties even for slight offenses at the time of the Dionysiac festival.9 Aeschines10 complains that in his day a man accused of proposing an illegal motion rarely touched on the question at issue, but that instead he pointed out that on some past occasion another man had made an equally unlawful motion and had been acquitted. He adds that he has heard that Ctesiphon was placing great confidence in this plea. What Ctesiphon actually said in this regard is not known, but Aeschines' surmise was very probably right, for Demosthenes11 mentions as an important item in Ctesiphon's favor the fact that he can refer to previous verdicts in similar cases. Also on other occasions Demosthenes seems to have attached considerable importance to the citation of past judgments. When Leptines12 had

particular case, and based on reasons, which were known only to the individual voters, and perhaps not always to them. And these decisions, such as they were, could not bind another court, for in theory and practice the courts were equal and independent, each being a committee of the Sovereign People, supreme and irresponsible.''

⁷ Op. cit. 74; 181-183.

⁸ Op. cit. 181; cf. the oration of Dinarchus against Demosthenes.

⁹ In Midiam 175 ff.

¹⁰ Con. Ctes. 194.

¹¹ De Corona (XVIII) 222-224. Demosthenes states that when on a previous occasion it had been proposed that he be crowned, Diondas indicted the measure, but was defeated in court. He adds that the present decree of Ctesiphon and those of Demomeles and Aristonicus are identical. (It is to be remembered that, according to Plutarch Dec. Orat. Vit. 846 A, Demosthenes was crowned by Demomeles, Aristonicus, Hyperides, and Ctesiphon). Ctesiphon, therefore, can appeal to the former action of the court, which had been entirely favorable to Demosthenes, and to the fact that Aeschines had not ac-

proposed the abolition of hereditary immunities from taxation. Demosthenes called the attention of the dicasts to the fact that Laodamas was beaten in court, when he indicted the grant to Chabrias, in which, among other matters, the privilege of immunity was included. In the oration On the Embassy,13 Demosthenes makes mention of Arthmius, Callias, and Epicrates, an ambassador who had been sentenced to death, and points out several items of similarity between the present case and that of Epicrates. In the same oration Demosthenes14 asserts that, if Aeschines were guilty of nothing else, his betrayal of the Phocians and of Thrace to Philip are sufficient to warrant the penalty of death, and he strengthens this assertion by recalling that for this offense death or a heavy fine had already been imposed upon Ergophilus, Cephisodotus, Timomachus, Ergocles, Dionysius, and others. In a speech of Dinarchus15 the Athenians are reminded that they fined Timotheus a hundred talents when Aristophon said that he had received money from the Chians and Rhodians. The charge of accepting a bribe was now being preferred against Demosthenes. Here the parallel ceases, for, according to the plaintiff, Timotheus was a real benefactor to the city: he had defeated the Spartans in a naval battle at Coreyra and in addition he was the son of Conon, the restorer of Greek liberty. Demosthenes, it is maintained, cannot lay claim to such recommendations. When Dionysius¹⁶ brought the informer, Agoratus, to justice, he cited as a parallel the case of Menestratus. who had been condemned for giving false information against outstanding democrats prior to the institution of the Thirty. A similar charge was now being brought against Agoratus.

The examples heretofore given represent what may be called, roughly speaking, the legal use of precedents; the definite citation of a past decision in an identical or similar action is intended to influence the present verdict. Properly considered, however, these

cused Demomeles and Hyperides, who had proposed the same things for which Ctesiphon was now on trial. Such, at any rate, is the argument of Demosthenes. cf. *ibid*. 124.

¹² Demos. Con. Lept. (XX) 146.

^{13 (}XIX) 271 ff.

^{14 (}XIX) 180.

 $^{^{15}\,\}textit{Con. Demos.}$ 14. This incident is related again by Dinarchus in the oration against Philocles, par. 17.

¹⁶ Lys. Con. Agorat. (XIII) 56. Not much is made of this precedent. The speaker merely relates the incident and adds the words, "and yet if he (Menestratus) perished, surely Agoratus will be put to death justly."

cases are scarcely comparable to the modern practice of defining and establishing a law by court decision. In our own legal system, only the decisions of a judge establish a legal precedent; the verdicts of a jury represent nothing more than an expression of public opinion, as embodied in the jurors, and have no legal effect whatsoever. Since there were no judges in ancient Athens and all trials were by jury, there could be no legal precedents at all from the viewpoint of a modern court. This reservation must always be made, whenever the term legal precedent is used in this paper. Furthermore, a judicial decision establishes law, but does not prescribe its application to the facts of a particular future case. Athenian litigation, however, an appeal to a legal precedent was in most instances inextricably bound up with an appeal to the This is only natural, for Athenian litigants were simply citizens, not experts in case-law. Any unusual display of legal knowledge would immediately have prejudiced the dicasts.

Under a system, like the Athenian, where there were no judges to render decisions and where the courts were not bound to follow the previous verdicts of a jury, it was in no respect imperative that litigants should employ exact parallels, in fact, it may often have been advantageous to the plaintiff to use more general examples, especially such as revealed that punishment had been inflicted for an offense similar to but less serious than the one perpetrated by the defendant. Thus in the suit against Meidias. 17 which has already been mentioned. Demosthenes refers to three people who suffered a sentence at the hands of the jury, after the assembly had pronounced them guilty of profaning the festival and adds that all these persons had committed far less heinous offenses than his opponent. Hyperides¹⁸ feels that Demosthenes, who had accepted a large bribe, must most certainly be convicted, since, Conon the Paeanean, incurred a fine of a talent for taking only five drachmae of show money in behalf of his son, who was not in the city.19 Another litigant, after citing an example of a foreigner who had been punished for bringing a bribe into the Peloponnesus, implies that a citizen who accepts money to the detriment of his own state is even more deserving of punishment.20

¹⁷ In Midiam (XXI) 175 ff. The case of Evander, the Thespian, the father of Charicles, and that of Ctesicles are discussed in some detail.

¹⁸ Con. Demos. col. XXVI.

¹⁹ Cf. Demos. De Fal. Legat. 276 ff. for a similar line of argument.

²⁰ Dinar. Con. Aristogit. 24 ff.

The prosecutor of Neaera21 holds that it would not be amiss if the dicasts called to mind what had happened to Archias, the hierophant, who was convicted of impiety for offering a sacrifice contrary to ancient usage. Thereupon he asks if the defendant who has committed offenses against the same god and the same laws shall get off with impunity. Andocides22 maintains that he is guilty of no crime against the two goddesses, and that therefore the words of his accusers do not apply to him, when they refer in their speeches to others who had committed an impiety against the two goddesses. It may be noted that apparently the only point of resemblance here lay in the fact that the same deities had been A man who betrays his post and thus endangers the lives of only a few citizens is subject to grave punishment, according to Lysias;23 hence, Philon, who has betrayed the whole city, should not aspire to enter the senate, but should consider himself in a very precarious situation.24 General allusions to past judgments sometimes are so vague that a litigant merely informs his judges that they have often voted thus and so on former occasions.²⁵ "Remember," says the speaker of Lysias' oration against the corndealers, "that you have already condemned to death many, who were accused of this transgression. . . . ''26

From a vague, general precedent it is but a step to the purely rhetorical use of arguments based on the implied effect which a decision of the court will have on dicasts in the future. Here no attempt is made to influence the present verdict on the ground of an earlier decision in an identical or similar case. Though this

²¹ Demos. In Neaer. (LIX) 116, 117.

²² De Myst. 29.

²³ Adv. Philonem (XXXI) 26.

²⁴ The rhetorical element is unmistakable here. It is carried farther by Dinarchus (Con. Demos. 23, 24) who, when prosecuting Demosthenes for accepting bribes, reminds the jurors that they put to death Menon, a miller, because he held a free boy from Pellene in his mill; Themistius of Aphidna, because he harmed a Rhodian flute-girl at the Eleusinian mysteries; Euthymacus, because he prostituted an Olynthian girl. But because of the bribed traitor, Demosthenes, he asserts, the children and wives of the Thebans have been distributed among the tents of the barbarians.—For a somewhat similar argument cf. Lycurg. Con. Leoc. 53 on Autolycus. These are far-fetched precedents and contain a rhetorical admixture. They look to the past, however, and are intended to influence the dicasts in the decision of the case before them.

²⁵ E.g., Con. Simonem (III) 43. This speech was delivered before the Council of the Areopagus.

^{26 (}XXII) 18. Cf. Isaeus. De Cleonymi Hereditate (I) 38.

type in no respect approaches what has been called the legal use of precedent, it does, however, show that decisions of a jury might be quoted in the future and have a significant effect on the dicasts. In the oration On the Embassy,27 Demosthenes assures the dicasts that they are not only trying the accused, but are "legislating for all time to come, whether ambassadors should take money to work disgracefully for the enemy, or do their best for the city without bribe or fee." On another occasion a litigant, for whom Demosthenes wrote the speech,28 reminds the court that, while it is sitting in judgment upon one case only, it is making law for the whole port of Athens, and that consequently a great number of commercial people are present to observe how this matter will be decided. Hyperides²⁹ states boldly that the vote concerning Philippides will show whether the Athenians intend to punish those who propose illegal resolutions, or to grant to those who have illegally abused their rights the honors that belong to public benefactors. pleader in behalf of a certain Callias30 feels that the present suit is not an individual matter, but one which concerns all the inhabitants of the city. There is no need of multiplying examples of this rhetorical use of precedent; it is a type characterized by the fact that it looks to the future and attempts to influence the present decision not on the basis of the past, but of the future. It is a matter of establishing, rather than following, a precedent.

Not infrequently litigants emphasized the probable effect of a verdict not on the courts in the future but on private persons. This practice was a natural outgrowth of the Athenian attitude concerning the purpose of punishment. From the time of Antiphon, the vindictive element in punishment was almost negligible in Athens. Lysias holds, for example, that the city bestows rewards and penalties not so much on account of the past as on account of the future, in order that all may strive to be good and

²⁷ Demos. De Fals. Legat. (XIX). 232; cf. Lycurg. Con. Leoc. 7.

²⁸ Con. Dionysodor. (LVI) 48.

²⁹ Con. Philipp. Col. III.

³⁰ Lys. Pro. Sac. Call. (V) 5. Callias had been accused of temple-robbery by his slaves. Condemnation of Callias and the subsequent manumission of his slaves, the speaker pretends to fear, will encourage all the slaves in the city to seek their freedom not by good conduct toward their masters but by false accusation of them.—The speaker has in mind not only the influence of the present decision on the court in the future, but especially the effect on private persons. This shades over into the realm of exemplary justice.

do wrong of no sort.31 On another occasion32 the same orator expresses the opinion that the dicasts render their decisions not only on account of the transgressors but also to bring all the disobedient to better order. Lycurgus33 impresses upon the dicasts that by condemning Leocrates they will not only punish the culprit but will incite all the youth to virtue. Through the mouth of a client, Demosthenes34 characterizes as the worst result of an unjust decision not the litigant's failure to obtain justice, but the effect on the future. Androtion35 should pay his penalty and serve as a warning to others, in order that they may be influenced to conduct themselves better. According to the Platonic³⁶ doctrine, punishment should serve to improve the individual punished and deter others from the path of evil. This theory of exemplary justice has nothing to do with legal precedent in any real sense, except that it implies that a similar transgression in the future will not only meet with an identical interpretation of the law involved but also entail a similar penalty. Sometimes a litigant merely urges the judges to make an example of his opponent.37 Occasionally the wholesome effect of a good exemplary decision is pointed out. Thus it is maintained in one of Antiphon's38 practice speeches that a just verdict will diminish the number of those who seek the lives of others and will increase the number of those who practice piety. Aeschines³⁹ argues that, "if the jurors are willing to save those

³¹ Lys. Adv. Philonem. (XXXI) 30; cf. Lys. XXII. 20; Isoc. XX. 12: "You should punish more severely those who will probably become wicked, than those who have acted basely before, as it is far better to find a remedy of future evils than to inflict a penalty for those already perpetrated."

³² Lys. Con. Alcibiadem (XIV) 12.

³³ Con. Leoc. 10.

³⁴ Adv. Pantaenetum. (XXXVII) 60; cf. Adv. Nausim. 22; Con. Lept. 124.

³⁵ Demos. Con. Androt. 6-8. cf. Con. Aristoc. 94. cp. ibid. 98-99.

³⁶ In the Gorgias (525B) it is maintained that he who suffers punishment should either become better or serve as an example for others. In the Protagoras (324B) Plato holds that punishment should be inflicted not on account of the wrong that has already been perpetrated, but for the sake of the future, in order that neither the culprit himself might do wrong again nor others who have observed his punishment. cf. also Laws 728; 731C; 854C; 862C; 933C; 957B. Otto Apelt (Platonische Aufsätze. pp. 189-202) discusses in detail Plato's theory of punishment. A recent and yet unpublished University of Chicago doctoral dissertation by Mr. H. L. Tracy treats fully The Theory and Philosophy of Punishment in Greek Literature.

³⁷ E.g., Demos. De Fals. Legat. (XIX) 343; Lys. Con. Alcib. I (XIV) 45; Con. Alcib. II. (XV) 9; De Evandri Probat. (XXVII) 6.

³⁸ Tet. 1, γ 11.

³⁹ De Fal. Legat. 183.

who have labored for peace and security, the common good will find champions in abundance." In another connection40 the same litigant assures the dicasts that, if Timarchus will pay the penalty for his practices, they will lay the foundation for orderly conduct in their city. By the punishment of Meidias, Demosthenes⁴¹ states, other people will be encouraged not to take the law into their own hands, but to bring their grievances before the courts. Earlier in the oration⁴² he looks at the opposite side of the matter and maintains that acquittal of Meidias will enable him to commit assault in the future with impunity. Thus litigants frequently point out the bad effects that a precedent of leniency might have. The zealous patriot who took to task a certain Nicomachus for misconduct of office professes to believe that those who are planning to plunder the state will take notice how the defendant will fare in the present action and that they will become utterly fearless if the latter does not suffer punishment.43 In the suit against the prostitute, Neaera,41 condemnation is urged on the ground that acquittal would encourage all those who are inclined to folly to do what they pleased on the assumption that the courts and the laws had granted them impunity. Thus prostitutes, like Neaera, would be at liberty to live with what men they pleased. The verdict in Ergocles' case, 45 according to the speaker, will show officers of state if they must be without reproach, or if, after depriving the city of much, they are destined to accompish their safety. In the defense of Polystratus,46 the warning question is asked, who in the future will be willing to be brave, if those who benefit the state must yield to those who injure it. Phormio⁴⁷ pleads that the court should not set a "disgraceful precedent, that the property of men in business, who live respectable lives, may be obtained by pettifoggers." Even the cripple⁴⁸ points out with more or less seriousness in contesting

⁴⁰ Con. Timar. 192. Asschines adds that if Timarchus is freed, it would be better if the case had never been tried. Thus the danger of a precedent of leniency is pointed out. Cf. Lys. Con. Philoc. (XXIX) 13; Demos. De Fals. Legat. 285.

⁴¹ In Midiam. 76.

⁴² Ibid. 4.

⁴³ Lys. Adv. Nicom. (XXX) 23; cf. Dinar. Con. Aristogit. 22.

⁴⁴ Demos. In Neaeram (LIX) 111.

⁴⁵ Lys. Con. Ergoclem. (XXVIII). 10; cf. ibid. 16; Dinarch. Con. Demos: 46.

⁴⁶ Lys. Pro. Polys. (XX) 32; cf. ibid. 31.

⁴⁷ Demos. Pro. Phor. (XXXVI) 58.

⁴⁸ Lys. Pro Invalido (XXIV) 7.

for his dole, that an injustice toward him will tend to make all others with a similar affliction discouraged.

In most of the foregoing examples the rhetorical element is very conspicuous, exaggerating the force of precedent far beyond what seems reasonable.⁴⁹ Conservative and qualified statements are somewhat rare. Dinarchus, however, is author of the sober statement that, if the dicasts, in so far as they are able, expel from the city and check those who rashly accept bribes, Athens will be saved, if the gods are willing.⁵⁰ Such statements, however, are hardly anything more than pious formulae. Demosthenes⁵¹ puts into the mouth of a client the sane words that, if Conon is acquitted, there will be many like him; if he is punished, few.

Thus far in this paper an effort has been made, first, to emphasize that Athenian dicasts were not bound to follow previous verdicts; and second, to show that the precedents cited in the orators fall into various categories: a) definite citations of former verdicts; b) general allusions to past judgments; c) rhetorical use of precedent, looking to the future. Exemplary justice has been discussed because it implies the force of precedent. It now remains to consider the psychological force of the citation of past judgments.

Sometimes the orators represent a precedent as possessing a force tantamount to that of the law. It was especially easy to attach such singular importance to decisions involving some new political enactment as, for example, the amnesty agreement of 403 B.C. The term μὴ μνησικακεῖν τῶν γεγενημένων⁵² needed further definition. Thus the speaker of Lysias XIV⁵³ asserts that the judges of his suit, which was the first of its kind since the peace

⁴⁹ A passage in Lys. (De Caede Eratosthenis. 36) goes to the extreme in exaggeration and grim humor: a certain Euphiletus is accused of the murder of Eratosthenes, the seducer of the defendant's wife. The speaker begins his defense by pointing out the severity of the law against adultery among all the Greeks. Thereupon he relates the details of the affair and produces the laws which justify the slaying of an adulterer. If the dieasts will not uphold these laws, he maintains, the consequences of their decision in the present case will be calamitous. It would mean that men could practice adultery with impunity. This fact would give robbers, when caught in other men's houses, a convenient defense, for they could gain acquittal by asserting that they had entered the house not for the purpose of committing robbery, but adultery.

⁵⁰ Con. Demos. 88. The words employed are θεῶν βουλομένων. In another oration (Con. Philoclem 19) Dinarchus uses the expression θεῶν ἴλεων ὄντων. 51 Adv. Cononem. (LIV) 43.

⁵² The fullest statement of the terms of this political amnesty is contained in Aristotle, Ath. Pol. 39. Cf. Xen. Hell. II. 38-43.

⁵³ Con. Alc. I. (XIV) 4.

of 403 B.C., are not only judges, but lawgivers. He adds that according to the decision which they will reach, the state will proceed in the future. When this amnesty of 403 B.C. was still a new institution, the necessity of exercising caution in actions involving it was doubtless often impressed upon the dicasts, lest by their verdict they violate the letter of that agreement, and set a dangerous precedent which would encourage a wholesale violation of the act. Callimachus' opponent assures the dicasts that the widespread interest in his suit has been aroused not by the fact that many had concern in the affairs of the two litigants, but rather by the fact that all felt the decision to be an interpretation of the amnesty-Andocides tries to impress upon the dicasts that, if they do not allow the oaths of amnesty to protect him, it will be incumbent on many others to give an account of their actions.55 A similar assertion is attributed to Evander,56 an archon-elect, when facing the examination required of all public men at Athens before entering upon their office. Though these examples represent merely the rhetorical use of precedents, it is highly probable that the verdicts handed down in the earliest cases involving the amnesty served as a general guide to later judges. The stricter, legal use of a precedent in an action concerning the amnesty may be illustrated in the special plea entered against a certain Callimachus in 399 B.C., where it is pointed out that Philon of Coile, who had no defense in the issue, was protected by the amnesty.⁵⁷ The speaker indicates that he should enjoy the same protection.58 The amnesty, it is true, was not a law; 59 it was a political agreement between parties to forgive and forget. The fact remains, however, that with reference to any new law fraught with many ramifications, like the amnesty, the earliest verdicts involving that law would assume a decidedly interpretative character and perhaps become invested with an almost authoritative influence 60

⁵⁴ Isoc. Adv. Callim. 42.

⁵⁵ Andoc. De Mystic, 103. See also 104, 105.

⁵⁶ Lys. De Evand. Probat. (XXVI). 16.

⁵⁷ Isoc. Adv. Callim, 22.

⁵⁸ In the same oration, par. 38, the lack of a precedent is called to the attention of the jurors. The speaker points out that all who had returned from the Piraeus could make the same statements as his opponent, but that not one had had the audacity to bring an action of similar character.

⁵⁹ Cf. Die Amnestie des Jahres 403 v. Chr., R. Grosser, pp. 46-48; De Amnestia anno CCCCIII a. Chr. n. Atheniensibus decreta, Jürgen Lübbert, p. 21.

⁶⁰ Aristotle (Ath. Pol. 40) praised Archinus for inducing the senate, in its judicial capacity, to condemn to death an individual who had tried to bring

The force of legal precedents may have been of considerable moment also when complicated cases, not specifically defined by the laws, came before the dicasts for decision. According to Lycurgus, 61 it was an easy matter to mete out proper punishment for the perpetrators of such transgressions as the law defined. But when a complicated transgression had been committed and many laws had been violated, he regarded the decisions of the dicasts as a norm for the future. The crimes committed by the Thirty were unparalleled in Athenian history, and no laws existed which covered them. For this reason Eratosthenes' audit62 assumed unusual importance; it was a test case and would create a precedent. If Eratosthenes, the mildest of the Thirty, could not gain acquittal, it would be useless and hopeless for his more violent colleagues to come up for their audit. Therefore the vehemence of Lysias' speech is to be explained not only on the ground that the orator was prosecuting the murderer of his brother, but also on the ground that this was an important test case which would go far toward determining the fate of the remaining members of the Thirty also.

Because of the good reputation enjoyed by the Council of the Areopagus, it is natural that its verdicts should be held in high esteem and that the dicasts in the heliastic courts should attach great importance to them whenever they were obliged to sit in judgment over cases similar to those decided by the Areopagites. When Lycurgus had indicted Leocrates for treason, he informed the dicasts in a straightforward manner that it was no longer in their power to acquit the defendant, for his transgression had already been condemned. He explains this assertion by stating that the Council of the Areopagus had put to death those who had fled from their country and abandoned it to the enemy.⁶³ Conon's opponent



an action contravening the amnesty. Aristotle implies that as a result of this exemplary decision all matters consigned to oblivion by the amnesty were not meddled with thereafter. This is hardly an accurate statement, for the $\pi\alpha\alpha\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\alpha\dot{\eta}$ plea (cf. Calhoun. C. P. XIII. 179-185) could not have come into existence under such circumstances. It seems more likely that carefully deliberated verdicts in the initial cases guided subsequent courts until provision was made for bringing a special plea in bar of action whenever an issue was brought contrary to the provisions of the amnesty.

⁶¹ Con. Leoc. 9.

⁶² Lys. Con. Eratos. (XII).

⁶³ Lycurg. Con. Leoc. 52. It is to be noted that the plaintiff cites also the case of Autolycus who was tried by the heliastic judges, and that he mentions the decision of the people concerning traitors. Thereupon he asks the dicasts if they will vote contrary to what has been decided by the most just body,

makes brief mention of the fact that the Council of the Areopagus passed a sentence of exile on the father of the priestess of Brauron.⁶⁴ Here, however, the parallelism is not close. Conon struck with his his own hand, while the father of the priestess had instigated another to strike a blow for him. No emphasis is put on the fact that the Areopagus rendered this decision. In an oration written by Lysias and delivered before the Areopagus,⁶⁵ a litigant reminds the Areopagites that they themselves have often voted in harmony with what he now requests.

Sir George Jessel once remarked⁶⁶ that particular attention should be given to precedents "of respectable age." In view of the veneration which Athenians had for their ancestors, it is conceivable that a precedent set by dicasts of an earlier generation should carry some weight with posterity. Perhaps considerations of this character led Aeschines to remind the dicasts in his action concerning the legality of Ctesiphon's motion,67 that in former times indictments of this sort were brought not only by political rivals against one another, but by friend against friend, and that Archinus of Coile secured the conviction of Thrasybulus of Steiria, though the latter was his companion and compatriot in the return from Phylae. On another occasion Aeschines resorts to the rhetorical use of precedents,68 portraying the attitude of the men of old toward things shameful and things honorable, and then asking if the sons of these men shall let Timarchus go free. Similarly Lycurgus69 urges the dicasts to remember of what sort of men they are the offsprings and to render a verdict similar to and in keeping Among others also Demosthenes⁷⁰ and with their judgments. Dinarchus⁷¹ praise the examples set by older generations.—Though it is obvious that in a suit involving the construction of an ancient statute, judges of an earlier generation, who were nearer the date

condemned by themselves and admitted by the people to be deserving of the greatest punishment.

⁶⁴ Demos. Adv. Cononem. (LIV) 25.

⁶⁵ Adv. Simonem. (III) 43.

⁶⁶ Re Hallett's Estate (1879) 13 CH. D. p. 712.

⁶⁷ Con. Ctes. 194.

⁶⁸ Con. Timar. 182-185.

⁶⁹ Con. Leoc. 127. Cf. ibid. 116; Demos. De Corona 210; De Fals. Legat. 268 ff.

⁷⁰ Con. Aristoc. (XXIII) 204.

⁷¹ Con. Demos. 24; Con. Aristogit. 16; ibid. 24-26.

of statute, would be more able to understand it rightly,⁷² it seems entirely justifiable to assume that sentiment rather than logic induced the Athenians to attach some importance to the verdicts rendered by their fathers. At any rate, there is no evidence to show that a litigant ever searched the records for a precedent. As a result, the verdicts of older courts when introduced a generation or two later were merely of a hearsay character. Doubtless Athenian dicasts were aware of the fact that under these circumstances it was possible for an unscrupulous litigant to twist details⁷³ or even to foist a fictitious precedent upon them. As a result, they could not afford to attach very much importance to precedents which they did not themselves remember.

How great, or how slight, the force of precedent may have been under circumstances other than those already discussed, is a matter which cannot be determined with any degree of precision. To preserve the continuity of justice it was obviously necessary to maintain a certain uniformity and consistency in the decisions handed down for similar cases. At any rate, this idea seems to have been in the mind of the young Athenian⁷⁴ who opposed Evander at his δομμασία, for he tells the dicasts that they seemed to have rejected Laodamas justly, but that, if they should accept Evander for his office, their verdict on the former occasion will plainly seem unjust. With perhaps the same thought in mind another litigant⁷⁵ urges the jurors that they should have regard for the precedents established by themselves. He then cites a case and adds that his opponents know that they have committed the same offense.⁷⁶ Aeschines⁷⁷ points out the incongruity of punishing men who have



⁷² In 1454 A.D. Prisot, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, gave this as one of the reasons why the court should follow a decision of earlier date. Cf. Pollock, A First Book of Jurisprudence, pp. 315, 316.

⁷³ Even facts of contemporary history were often misrepresented in court and apparently without detection. Cf. Edw. Meyer, Forschungen zur Alten Geschichte, II. 132 ff.

⁷⁴ Lys. De Evand. Prob. (XXVI) 14 ff.

⁷⁵ Apollodorus. Demos. De Cor. Trierarch. (LI) 8 ff. "Only consider," exclaims the speaker, "what would be thought of your measures, if it appeared that for the same cause you condemned some persons to death, and rewarded others with a crown." Cf. Lys. XVIII. 13-14.

⁷⁶ Perhaps a similar notion actuated Demosthenes (Adv. Phor. 50) to remind the jurors that they were the same persons who had formerly penalized a man for violating one of the commercial laws. On another occasion (Con. Timoc. 138) the same orator says, "Remember that you put to death Eudemus... Bear this in mind and show the same spirit now against the defendant."

⁷⁷ Con. Ctes. 232.

been convicted of receiving bribes and at the same time proposing to crown Demosthenes, who, he avers, has always been in politics for pay. Still another litigant remarks that it would be strange if the court considered deserving of death those who were insolent in the oligarchy, but acquitted those who followed the same pursuits in the democracy. Such statements, though of infrequent occurrence, reveal a growing consciousness in the minds of the ancient Athenians that in similar cases not only the interpretation of the law, but also the verdict, should be the same.

It would be hazardous to make dogmatic statements concerning the general significance of arguments from precedent in Athenian litigation. When the whole body of extant Attic oratory is considered, it must be admitted that the matter of precedent does not bulk large. Furthermore, when precedents are cited, they rarely occupy a prominent place in the pleading. Lycurgus, who frequently resorts to the use of precedents, makes no further claim for their efficacy in persuading the court than that "the teaching of many precedents makes the decision easier for the dicasts."779 If one may judge from the type of argument employed to invalidate the force of precedent, it would seem that litigants regarded the persuasive influence of former decisions rather lightly. thenes80 obviously expected Aristocrates to appeal to precedents in an effort to prove the legality of his resolution, yet in Euthycles' impeachment of the proposal he merely requests the judges not to content themselves with the excuse that similar proposals had already been made and that other dicasts had in those cases expressed their approval of them. It is urged that Aristocrates should be punished all the more if he has become the imitator of something that has at an earlier time happened contrary to the law. Philippides,81 according to Hyperides, might plead that, since he had already been twice convicted for proposing illegal motions, the jurors should let him off this time. But Hyperides maintains that this argument should be turned the other way. Diodorus82 makes no attempt to block Androtion's appeal to precedent other than to assert that just as the latter would never have come forward with

⁷⁸ Isoc. Con. Lochit. (XX) 4.

⁷⁹ Con. Leoc. 124.

⁸⁰ Con. Aristoc. (XXIII) 98, 99.

⁸¹ Hyperides, Con. Philipp. col. VII.

⁸² Demos. Con. Androt. (XXII) 7.

his proposal if in former times the sponsors of similar resolutions had been justly penalized, so also no one in the future will have the audacity to propose such measures if Androtion is now made to pay the penalty. The purely rhetorical character of such argumentation is unmistakable. Doubtless litigants exaggerated or minimized the force of precedent according to the nature of the individual case: if precedent favored them, this fact was emphasized; otherwise, not. It is not to be overlooked, however, that even Socrates⁸³ considered the matter of precedent, when he pointed out the danger of creating a precedent of leniency, if he should be acquitted now that he had been brought to trial.

Though case-law is a very important item in our legal system, the freedom which Athenian dicasts allowed themselves in following or disregarding a precedent does not seem strange or illogical even from a modern viewpoint. As already stated, the Athenian judiciary consisted of ordinary citizens who were chosen by lot and had no technical training for the important duty which they were obliged to perform. As a result, it would not have been a safe policy to regard every verdict as an authentic declaration of the law. Similarly, in our own courts, the verdicts of a jury have no legal significance; only the decisions of judges establish legal precedents. Furthermore, like the Supreme Court of the United States, every Athenian dicastery was a court of final resort, and, as such, its attitude toward precedents was equally as rational as is that of our Supreme Court, which feels itself free to reverse its own decisions.

ss Plato, Apol. 29C. Cf. Plato, Euthyphro 5 E. Though Euthyphro does not cite a legal precedent to justify his contemplated prosecution of his father, he does refer to the struggle between Zeus and Cronos.

THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR: TWO NEW ANALOGUES

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I.

As I pointed out some years ago in an article upon "A Plautine Source of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*," this Shakespearian comedy apparently is founded upon a combination of three sources. These are "The Two Lovers of Pisa," a story translated from Straparola's *I Piacevoli Notti* in *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*; the tale of "Philenio Sisterna," which Painter translated from the same collection of Straparola; and the Plautine comedy, *Casina*.

In The Merry Wives elements from these three originals are combined very cleverly. Casina supplies the wooing of Anne Page, with various details of the other thread of the play, as, for instance, the revenge of Pistol and Nym on Falstaff and the quarrel between Evans and Caius. From the story of "Philenio Sisterna" comes the suggestion for that portion of The Merry Wives, wherein Falstaff courts Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Page with his amorous form letter and they, indignant at being circularized, retaliate by making as much of a butt of him as their ingenuity can obtain. "The Two Lovers of Pisa" is seemingly the source of that part of the play in which Falstaff confides to Mr. Ford his pursuit of the latter's wife and, after his successive visits to her, narrates how he has escaped the vengeance of her jealous husband.

Various analogues have been cited for the story of "The Two Lovers of Pisa." These include, besides "Nerino of Portugal," its original in Straparola, the novel of "Bucciuolo" in *Il Pecorone* by Ser Giovanni Fiorentino; and "Lucius and Camillus," in *The Fortunate, Deceived, and Unfortunate Lovers*, a work published, by the way, in 1632, and hence out of the question as a Shakespearian source.

¹ Modern Philology, XVIII (1920), 57 ff.

² Notte IV, favola 4.

³ Notte II, favola 2; Painter, The Palace of Pleasure, tome I, novel 49.

⁴ Giorno I, novella 2.

To these, I can add two, so far as I know, hitherto-unnoted analogues. The first of these is the tale of how "A foolish student learns the art of making love from a certain physician, his master in Bologna, and performs a successful experiment in it with the wife of that same doctor." This novella had as author Anton-Francesco Doni, the Florentine-Venetian man of letters, and was published in the "Rime del Burchiello, commentate dal Doni,"5 which first appeared in Venice in 1553.

A fairly close translation of Doni's novella follows:6

THE BOLOGNESE DOCTOR AND THE FOOLISH STUDENT

At Bologna there was a very foolish student who, at the end of his course, was made doctor in medicine; but when he wished to depart, the professor who had taught him, prayed him to remain in the city until vacation. "What shall I do in the meantime?" asked the youth.

"I will teach you some other art, since you are instructed in medicine."

"I wish to make love, if I can learn that science."

"In this art," said the professor, believing to banter him, "am I more perfect and proficient indeed than in medicine."

"Well, master, give me the first lesson."

"You will begin by going to church early in the morning, and there, regard whoever among the women pleases you most, in a modest manner, with an ardent eye, [and] with a piteous gesture, sighing a little, and showing at the same time both sorrow and happiness, according to the turning of her brows."

As the first lesson this pleased the youth much, and at once he turned his mind to devotion and went to church as directed. By chance, the wife of the same physician went to church, as it was a feast-day; and, being somewhat wanton, and lively, and of a certain lightness, she was ogled by the youth, who, not knowing of whom she was consort, turned his attention to his book, and studied therein in such a fashion that she felt an inclination towards him.

So, being returned in the morning for his next lesson, and relating his success to his master, he was praised by the doctor; because with only one lesson, in one manner or another, he had arrived at the very last word of the

Already, through many signs, the physician suspected his wife, so when the student had come to the end, the former said: "When you go to visit her, let me have word of it."

When the hour arrived, the youth did so; and, following him, the doctor saw how the student directed himself towards his own wife and his house; and so, letting him enter in, the professor did not stand long, before, being angered, he began to pound upon the door. Recognizing his knocking, his wife with quickness concealed her lover in a bag of white clothes. When the door was opened and endearments had been pretended, the physician without saying aught searched everywhere carefully with the deliberate intention of killing the student, but found no one.

Then, half believing himself to dream, he returned to the schools, holding

it to be certain that an infirmity of vision had made him mistake the door at which the youth had gone in. And in the morning the student, being questioned

⁵ p. 54.

⁶ My version of the tale is based upon the text as found at pp. 73 ff. in the second edition of Rime del Burchiello, Venice, 1566, a copy of which is in my possession. A modern reprint of Doni's tale occurs as Novella LXXXXIX in Novelle da Anton-Francesco Doni, edited by Giuseppe Petraglione, Bergamo, 1907.

as to whether he had had a kind reception from his mistress, with the highest delight and to his own great comfort, told him all.

The facts being known and certified, the physician asks his pupil: "When

do you return?''

"Without mishap, this evening," he responds, "I shall go to her."

"Again, will you inform me?" said the master.

"Willingly," was the reply.

The hour arriving, the youth notified the doctor and returned to visit the latter's wife. The master approached the door so near that he was certain of it, nor did he wait until they should make a festival, but immediately beat upon the door. Nor had his wife time to conceal the student; she placed him behind the door to the street, saying to him:

"When my doctor is within, at once go forth."

The door being opened, with an uproar of words and with embracements, she obscured her husband's vision. Her lover in this moment fled. Walking about and shouting, the physician searched the whole house: although he left no place untouched, he was not destined to capture the student, and drawn by desperation, he departed. And the student, who was on the look-out, went back into the house, and with much enjoyment rested there during the night; and the next day he related all to his physician. The heart of the master froze in his breast, and he went to his house. Forced by grief, he took to his bed, and, as is usual, many students came to see him; nor did they know the cause of his illness areast as they are the reason of his illness areast as they are the reason of his illness areast as they are the reason of his illness areast as they are the reason of his illness areast as they are the reason of his illness areast as they are the reason of his illness areast as they are the reason of his illness areast as they are the reason of his illness areast as the reason of his illness areas are the reason of his illness are the reason of his illness ar the cause of his illness, except as they recalled his endurance of them. Among these others the youth at one time appeared; and seeing his master and recognizing his mistress, and remarking what house it was, he was amazed, and marvelled.

The doctor in the presence of both his pupil and his wife said: "Remigio, give more sound counsel to others than I have given to you, and, when you take a wife, guard her with more care. And so with these things for remembrance, please to depart from my house and from the land, because you have at my expense learned sufficiently the art of making love.

Doni's version of the story of the too confiding lover is the shortest of the six which I have examined. Not only are various details lopped off, but what remains of the plot proceeds more expeditiously than in any other of the tales. To illustrate: Remigio, Doni's student, visits the lady twice only after first spying her. In Straparola's novella and its translation, "Nerino of Portugal," the lover makes three visits to his lady. Doni omits the intermediary —a female pedlar in Ser Giovanni and in "Lucius and Camillus," and in Straparola, an obliging old woman living opposite Raimondo's house. Nor does Doni's lover parade before the lady's house as do the lovers of the other stories. There is much less recourse by Remigio to his master for advice than in any other form of the tale. Ser Giovanni's Bucciuolo has a friend, Pietro Paolo, with whom he goes to Bologna. This personage is absent from Doni, as from Straparola and Tarlton's News, although present, as one would expect, in "Lucius and Camillus."

The details of these novelle differ greatly. Thus, with Doni, as with Ser Giovanni and "Lucius and Camillus," the scene is Bologna, whereas in Straparola, it is Padua, and in "The Two Lovers," it is Pisa. The deceived husband is a physician in all the stories, but in "Nerino" and in "The Two Lovers," he is not, as in the others, a professor in the university, and, in the former, he is young seemingly, and old in the latter. There is in Straparola nothing of what is important in the other versions: the advising the lover by the husband as to how to win the latter's wife. Doni, as in Ser Giovanni, the physician believes, after his first unsuccessful search for his too-proficient student, that he has mistaken the door at which he has seen the latter enter. Remigio apparently makes an assignation with the lady at the church on the morning in which he first discovers her. The other novelists, es-Doni's lover pecially Straparola, drag out this part of the tale. escapes first by hiding in a bag of clothes, as in "Bucciuolo" and "Lucius and Camillus." Nerino is concealed in a bed by Straparola, and Lionello in a vessel full of feathers. On his second visit, Remigio escapes out the door as his mistress embraces her husband. This is paralleled in Ser Giovanni's story and in its English adaptation of 1632. Straparola's Nerino is hidden in a chest until Raimondo gives up the search. Lionello, in "The Two Lovers," is concealed in a kind of false ceiling. A third escape, by means of the chest or desk containing deeds, is found only in Straparola and in "The Two Lovers." The episode of the cup of wine with a ring in it, by which the lady warns her lover not to continue his telling of the story of their amours occurs only in Straparola and Tarlton's News. The other novelle agree in the visit of the youth to his master and the latter's pronouncing him too apt a student of the art of love-making. It should be noted that Doni's Remigio, so far as the reader is aware, does not carry on the intrigue after the dénouement of the tale. Ser Giovanni's Bucciuolo and the Camillus of the English version leave Bologna On the other hand, Straparola's Nerino elopes with Genobbia; and the Lionello of Tarlton's News, after Mutio's death, enjoys the lady. It is only in Doni's novella that the ingenious suggestion is made that the professor has fallen ill because of the depressing effect of his students upon him.

The relation of Doni's story to Ser Giovanni's and Straparola's novelle is fairly clear. It is a retelling of the tale in *Il Pecorone*, as is Straparola's, but it preserves much more of the details of its original than does Straparola's version, in spite of its comparative brevity. This is proved by the placing their action, by Straparola

and Doni, in Bologna, their making their characters a professor of medicine, a student, and the wife of the first. In each story the intruder is first hidden under or in clothing, and escapes the second time when the lady embraces her husband as he enters the house. The two stories end with each husband ill, or supposed to be, and as such visited by his students, among them the too-proficient student. And each professor complains of his pupil's over-great progress and desires him to leave Bologna.

The resemblances of Doni's story of "The Foolish Student" to that part of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, in which the basic situation of the former is utilized, are as follows: in both a man makes love to a married woman to whose husband he, being ignorant of the relationship of man and woman, reports the progress of his suit. The husband, in novella and play, furiously jealous, tries to take the lover in his house, but fails, as the visitor is enabled to escape through the guile of the woman.

That Shakespeare knew Doni's story is possible: that he used it is not very likely. It is not my intention to advance such a theory. But in Doni's novella certainly occurs an analogue to the Falstaff-Ford plot of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. To point out this fact is what I have aimed to do, and I hope that I have accomplished it.

II.

The second of the analogues which I have discovered occurs as Novella 6 of Giornata Prima in Pietro Fortini's *Le Giornate dc' Novizi.*⁸ As the tale covers some eighty-three pages, I shall merely summarize it.⁹

THE FLORENTINE DOCTOR AND THE STUDENT

Oppressed by the tyranny of Duke Alessandro de' Medici, an elderly Florentine doctor flees with his wife to Siena, where he acquires fame, and becomes a professor in the university. He observes that one of his students, Imenio

⁷ In Modern Philology, ut. cit., p. 59, note 4, I observe that I do not subscribe to the opinion of those students who deny that Shakespeare knew Italian. I repeat that I believe that Shakespeare could read Italian and did so. In Shakespeare's time, as at present, the ability to read Italian betokened no great degree of learning.

⁸ Fortini's novelle are reprinted from MS. in the *Bibliotechina Grassoccia*, Florence, 1888-94. It is in this edition (Vol. I, pp. 122-205) that I have read the story.

⁹ Fortini's synopsis of the tale may thus be rendered: "A Florentine doctor teaches a student of his how to make love. The youth becomes enamored of the doctor's wife and enjoys himself with her. Learning of this, the doctor is angry with himself and reproves the student."

by name, is not only extraordinarily scrupulous in his attendance on lectures. but never is to be seen idling around the streets. This strikes the doctor as so strange that he questions Imenio as to the reason and inquires as to whether the youth has ever been in love. Imenio responds that, as he attends to his studies, he has no time for love. For some days professor and student argue concerning the latter's habits. By great chance, one feast day, the doctor meets Imenio on the street. The former then asks the youth to promise to do what he would advise. Receiving Imenio's pledge, the doctor (after exhorting him not to work on feast days, but, for the sake of his health, to take a holiday, as do the other students) instructs him to go to mass at the Duomo and there look at the women. Indeed, he is to do this, that very morning. He is to choose the one he thinks most beautiful and fall in love with her.

Imenio then begins to argue with his master concerning falling in love, citing Ariosto and Aretino against women. The doctor replies by quoting Petrarch in honor of women and love. In return, Imenio quotes Boccaccio, but is argued down by his opponent. Imenio then goes to the Duomo where he seems so many beautiful women that he is pleased and returns that afternoon to pursue his study of them. He sees one, at that time, of such surpassing beauty that he falls in love with her. Although he does not know it, she is the doctor's wife, Laudomia. Imenio follows her home from the Duomo, and learns thereby where she lives. In the meantime, the young woman has observed his interest in her, and has been much attracted by his personal

beauty, but has successfully concealed her sentiments.

That night Imenio goes to the university to see the doctor, and reports to him that he has fulfilled his promise and has, moreover, fallen in love. He asks his master's advice as to what he shall do next, and is told to send the lady a letter by some old woman, a number of whom the doctor suggests. Imenio accordingly composes a letter to the lady and entrusts it to an old female peddler of great skill in matters of love. Upon this emissary's opening the matter to Imenio's beloved, the latter feigns anger and drives the old woman away in such haste that she pretends to leave behind her her box of wares and Imenio's letter. When his messenger reports her apparent ill luck to Imenio, he is desperate, in spite of her attempts at consolation. He consults the doctor, who advises him to wait a few days and then write another letter to the lady. This he does, and four days later he sends his messenger to the lady's house again. The old woman feigns now to be in search of the box of wares which she had apparently forgotten in her flight previously. In the meantime, Laudomia has read Imenio's letter, and has been so touched by it that she readily accepts the second missive. She returns an oral answer to it by the old woman, in which she invites Imenio to come to her house at an hour and a half after nightfall, when he would find the door

The old woman delivers this message to Imenio, who rewards her well for her pains. He then reports progress to his master, who inquires as to where the lady lives. Not knowing her to be the doctor's wife, Imenio then describes the house so that the older man recognizes it as his own. He warns Imenio to be careful lest some misfortune befall him, but the youth is confident that he will meet with no harm. The doctor determines to make sure that it is his own wife whom Imenio is to visit, and accordingly he follows the student when the latter sets out for his assignation. Although Imenio walks very rapidly, the doctor follows him closely enough to see him enter his own door. After locking the door, Imenio ascends to the hall where Laudomia is. cause of the parsimoniousness of her husband, they have no servants, and she is alone in the house. As he embraces her, the doctor arrives at the outer door, and, finding it locked, kicks it and beats it.

Laudomia tells Imenio to escape from the house when he has the chance and instructs him, if he cannot return that same evening, to come back the next night at the same hour or a little earlier. She then hides Imenio by having him hang himself over a bar for holding towels which is in a corner of the pantry. Over him she throws a mantle of her own, and over that a cloak of her husband. Then she puts a bunch of twigs in the pantry, and, after disposing the clothing so as to cover Imenio, goes to the door, which her husband is still kicking and beating, as if she had come from brushing some clothing. The doctor upbraids her furiously for having a lover in the house, but is abused heartily by her in return. He then searches the house for the man whom he believes to be in it, but finds no one. Husband and wife then quarrel violently. Imenio hears them, but, because of the clothing over him, cannot recognize his master's voice or see him. At last the doctor decides that Imenio has entered the house of the doctor next door instead of his own; so he and his wife go to bed. When they are asleep, Imenio emerges from his hiding-place, and after some trouble escapes through a window into the street.

The next morning Imenio goes to the university, and tells the doctor, after his lecture, of his own adventure of the night before. The professor conceals his consternation and furious jealousy from the youth, but shows ill-temper toward his wife, when he goes home for dinner. That night the doctor watches in the street for Imenio's arrival, but, although he hurries after the youth to the door, he again finds it locked. Unable to enter, he begins beating upon the door. Hearing her husband, Laudomia invites Imenio to return the next night, as surely her husband would not continue always to interrupt them, and hides her visitor in a large basket, which stands on a table, and in which is piled the linen which has that day returned from washing. In order to get into the basket, Imenio has to curl himself up like a ball. When he is well covered with the linen, Laudomia admits her husband who abuses her in his rage and is answered by her as insultingly as possible. The doctor finally searches the house again, beginning with the bar for clothing where Imenio had been concealed the night before. Laudomia goes through the house with her husband, taunting him as she had the previous night and suggesting places wherein to look. The doctor finds no one, however, even though he sits down at the table and rests his elbow on the basket of linen wherein Imenio is. Husband and wife then quarrel violently, after which they go to bed. Imenio, who is very uncomfortable in his basket, extricates himself, and escapes from the house by the same window as on the previous night.

The next morning Imenio tells the doctor of his doings of the night before,

The next morning Imenio tells the doctor of his doings of the night before, but this time it is the older man who calls Imenio to him and inquires as to his success. Upon hearing the youth's story, the doctor is so enraged that Imenio questions him as to what ails him, but is assured that his agitation is due to the recollection of an adventure of his own youth. He then relates to Imenio how as a young man he had visited his mistress and had fled when another lover came, who, she said, was her husband. In his haste he did not take his clothing with him. Later he had recognized the garments in a friar's cell, and when the friar said that they were his brother's he had known that the friar was also a lover of the lady. Imenio is not deterred, however, from a third expedition by this example of feminine perfidy, and assures the doctor that he will continue his visits until he has had his will with the lady. Infuriated by this, the doctor tells Imenio that it would be discourteous not to return to his mistress, and resolves without fail to take him with her.

That night, as before, the doctor watches in the street, but, as soon as it was dark, Imenio had slipped quietly into the house without being seen by his master. The doctor finally grows cold and, deciding that Imenio is not coming, approaches his door, which, to his dismay, he discovers to be closed and locked. He begins to beat upon it. In the meantime, Imenio and Laudomia have made the most of their opportunity. When she hears the clatter of her husband at the entrance, Laudomia tells her lover to go with her to the door and when she opens it to slip through it from behind her. As she opens the door, her husband rushes in; she turns towards him with the light; and Imenio, who has been crouching behind her, darts safely out.

The doctor reviles his wife and threatens to kill her that night. Knowing that Imenio has escaped, she defies him, and tells him to lock the door and then search the house. After making the door fast, the doctor abuses his

wife who replies in kind. She vows that she will tell her brothers of his treatment of her and taunts him concerning his sister's illegitimate child. She says that she has been wooed by the finest young men of Siena, but has always spurned their advances because of her high regard for her own and her husband's honor! At last the doctor takes the light and ransacks the house, always followed by his wife who pours out insults upon him. He looks everywhere, leaving no box or basket unexamined, but, of course, finds no one. He finally ceases his hunt and attempts to secure from Laudomia a confession of her guilt. She stoutly asserts her innocence and abuses him still again. Her husband at length gives up his hope of obtaining any admissions from her

Going to the university in the morning, the doctor meets Imenio, and tells him that he had believed he was doing the youth a service in advising him to fall in love, but that he had become enamored of the doctor's own wife! He also informs Imenio that he is aware that the student has visited Laudomia three times. He then asks Imenio not to visit her again and to say nothing of his previous adventures, lest something unexpected befall both the young man and Laudomia. The doctor adds that he thinks they had not had the time to play him false. Then, emphasizing his desire that Imenio keep the secret of his love adventures, he says that he pardons the student, because, after all, it was he himself who, with his advice, had caused all the trouble. Imenio, who is much astonished to learn that his mistress is the doctor's wife, with much presence of mind, asks his master's pardon for a single kiss that he had given Laudomia, and asserts that that is all that had passed between them. Believing him, the doctor advises that, in the future, he court some other lady. Imenio readily promises to do so; and, relying on the student's word, the doctor ceases to watch his wife. Laudomia notices that her husband says nothing more to her, but thinks his silence due to her threats against him. The two lovers, Imenio and Laudomia, meet in secret, and for a long time, in spite of the doctor, enjoy each other's company, without any one's knowledge.

From the preceding outline of Fortini's novella, it will be seen that this tale differs little in essentials from those which have previously been known. Here, as in Ser Giovanni, "Lucius and Camillus," and Doni, the main characters are a university professor, his wife, and a student of the first. The foolish professor is a member of the medical faculty, as in "Lucius and Camillus" and Doni. In Straparola and "The Two Lovers of Pisa," the husband is a physician, although not a professor of medicine. Fortini's student makes three attempts at visiting his master's wife, the last of which is not wholly unsuccessful. Imenio hides once on a towel rack, once in a basket of linen (just home from being washed), and escapes the third time by creeping out the door as his mistress diverts the attention of her husband as he enters. The first device is original with Fortini, it would seem, but the others are found in Ser Giovanni, "Lucius and Camillus," and Doni. Pecorone and its English version, an old female peddler is employed by the lover to carry letters to the lady.

Fortini's novella is unlike the other five analogues in being set in Siena, its author's home. The physician, it is who advises his student to fall in love and sends him to church to find a mistress.

At the conclusion of the tale, he does not become ill, but lays the matter before Imenio (when it is too late), secures his promise to abstain from further visits to the lady, and lives on in content, ignorant of the deceit practiced on him. He fatuously considers Imenio a much greater fool than the youth actually is. Unlike the heroes of the analogous novelle, Imenio continues in secret his relations with his mistress after his tutor has revealed her identity to The lady's brothers are mentioned, but are not actually in-This novella of the Florentine doctor and his student is related in great detail with attention to definite localization, as in the introductory sentences, wherein is related how the physician had fled to Siena to escape the persecution of Duke Alessandro. Not only localization but actual personal hits seem to occur in the doctor's lengthy enumeration to Imenio of old women who might serve to carry his letter to the lady. The exchanges of abuse by husband and wife on the occasions when he searches the house, and the debates as to Imenio's need of diversion, and as to the treachery of woman (wherein amusingly the doctor is found in the course of the novella to have changed his views), are related in great detail, and help to stretch the story out to its quite needless length.

The novella which I have just briefly discussed is, of course, but another telling of the Ford-Falstaff portion of *The Merry Wives* plot. It is probably derived from Ser Giovanni's version, with a transfer of its setting from Bologna to Siena, and a great degree of elaboration and some alteration of incident. That Fortini's story was known to Shakespeare is highly improbable, for it was not printed until centuries after the dramatist's death. Like Doni's story—which was much more easily accessible to Shakespeare, but which I believe he did not know—it is one of the forms in which a thread of a Shakespearian dramatic plot occurs.

BRIEF ARTICLES AND NOTES

ACTORS' NAMES IN THE CONTENTION AND 2 HENRY VI

Fleay identified the names of Cade's followers in The First Part of the Contention (printed in 1594) with actors whose names appear in the plot of The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins, conceded to have been a play belonging to Strange's Men and played c. 1590-2.2 Although Harry, Will, Dick, Nick, Jack, Robin, Tom, and George are rather too undistinctive to carry much weight separately, their very number makes plausible Fleay's pairing them, respectively, with Henry Condell, William Sly, Richard Cowley, Nicholas Tooley, John Duke, Robert Pallant, and Thomas Goodale. He conjectures, rather wildly, that George may be George Condell and Sly played Ferrex and Porrex in 2 Seven Peele. Deadly Sins. Professor Baldwin shows that they were young men, probably just finishing their apprenticeship in 1589 and becoming members of the Shakespearean company (the Lord Chamberlain's Men continued from Lord Strange's) about 1595.3 Cowley, who played variously in 2 Seven Deadly Sins Lieutenant, Soldier, Lord, Giraldus, Captain, and Musician, appears to have been slightly younger and to have finished his apprenticeship about 1592, not becoming a member until about 1597. Another apprentice was Tooley, who probably graduated from women's parts (he played a lady and Pompeia in 2 Seven Deadly Sins) in about 1594, but who did not become a member until 1603-4. The others, Duke (Lord, Soldier, and Pursuivant in 2 Seven Deadly Sins), Pallant (Soldier, Nicanor), and Goodale (Phronesius, Messenger, Counsellor-Damasus) were hired men. Alternate possibilities for Will and Robin are William Eccleston and Robert Goffe, both of whom played women's parts in 2 Seven Deadly Sins and were young apprentices. It is not likely that Jack could refer either to John Holland or to

¹ F. G. Fleay, A Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shake-speare, London, 1886, pp. 264-8.

² W. W. Greg, "The Evidence of Theatrical Plots for the History of the Elizabethan Stage," Review of English Studies, Vol. I, (July, 1925) pp. 257-274; Henslowe Papers, London, 1907, pp. 129-132.

³ T. W. Baldwin, The Organization and Personnell of the Shakespearean Company, Princeton University Press, 1927, pp. 48-9, 83-5, 131-3, 156, 212-4, 222n., 236-7, 251-3, 255, 260-1, 266-8, 273-4, 416-8, 426, 430-1, 440.

John Sincler, since when these are mentioned their last names are given (see below). There is nothing untoward in any of these men's filling in minor parts as Cade's followers, especially since they were either hired men or very close to their apprenticeship. On the basis of their acting lines, Professor Baldwin assigns, in the corresponding play of 2 Henry VI, King Henry to Condell, Young Clifford to Sly, and Margery Jourdain to Tooley. None of these characters is on the stage at the same time with the rest of the rabble. Such doubling would be advisable, particularly if the company were traveling, as there is other evidence in the Contention to indicate, with a limited force.

A comparison of the Cade scenes of the Contention with the corresponding ones of 2 Henry VI (IV, ii-viii) shows that none of the actors' names of the former, except George and possibly Dick as Dick Butcher, occur in the latter. Their entrance is marked in 2 Henry VI, IV, ii with more general appellations in the stage direction: Drumme. Enter Cade, Dicke Butcher, Smith the Weaver, and a Sawver, with infinite numbers. But one actor's name does appear (IV, ii, before l. 1), that of John Holland, who played in 2 Seven Deadly Sins a Soldier, Captain, Attendant or Lord, and a warder. His name does not occur in the Contention. The presence in both plays of actors (if we accept the names in the Contention as such) who appeared in 2 Seven Deadly Sins4 is significant in establishing the intimacy of relationship between the plays and their probable early ownership by Strange's Men. Further, lack of correspondence in the names indicates that within the same company the plays have had a different acting history which needs to be solved. The circumstance of actors' names in the Contention points to that play's being a prompt-copy rather than a pirated version of 2 Henry VI, as Mr. Alexander suggests.⁵

University of Iowa

MADELEINE DORAN

A NOTE ON THE WORD "MEDIUM"

The Oxford Dictionary gives the following definition of the word "Medium" as used in spiritualism: "A person who is supposed to be the organ of communication from departed spirits. Hence also applied to a clairvoyant or a person under hypnotic control."

⁴ Sinklo in 3 Henry VI, III, i, is the John Sincler of 2 Seven Deadly Sins. ⁵ P. Alexander, "II. Henry VI." and the Copy for 'The Contention," The Times' Literary Supplement, 1924, pp. 629, 630.

The date of the first quotation given is 1853, and there is no suggestion as to the origin of the spiritualistic use of this term.

The history of this special use of the word is well worth tracing. In the years 1748 to 1756 Emanuel Swedenborg published the eight volumes of his *Arcana Coelestia*. In this work he discusses his experiences in the spirit world, and he constantly uses the word "medium" to describe any being who was "the organ of communication from departed spirits." Every paragraph in the work is numbered, and one can find a full discussion of the subject by turning to *Arcana Coelestia*; 3902, 3913, 3928, 39391, 3937. Some of the passages are worth quoting:

4047. From this was perceived the quality of these spirits, and furthermore they could serve the angels as mediums; since there are mediate spirits between the heavens, by whom there is communication.

5247. It is also the case that the angels of a higher heaven can see all that is going on below them in a lower heaven; but not the converse unless there is a medium. There are also mediate spirits by whom communication is effected to and fro. This may be illustrated by a single experience. There appeared to me a great city, in which there were thousands upon thousands of various objects, all pleasing and beautiful. I saw them because a medium was given me, but the spirits who were with me, being without a medium, could not see the least thing there.

Divine Wisdom, viii. 7. A Spirit takes with him from the inmost thing of nature a medium between the Spiritual and Natural, through which he is bounded, so as to be subsistent and present. . . Through this also Spirits and Angels can be adjoined to and conjoined with the human race.

All of these passages refer to spirits acting as mediums, but in Arcana Coelestia, 3702, speaks of the possibility that man might be a medium. In Arcana Coelestia, 5639, he uses the expression, "spiritual medium."

As a matter of fact the whole terminology of modern spiritualism is borrowed from Emanuel Swedenborg, and the borrowing was done by Andrew Jackson Davis, the seer of Poughkeepsie. In 1847 he published *The Principles of Nature, her Divine Revelations, and a Voice to Mankind*. This has always been regarded as the first authoritative statement of spiritualism, and in it he constantly and explicitly acknowledges his indebtedness to Swedenborg. One need only turn to Part II. of *The Principles of Nature* to see that in all of its important details modern spiritualism speaks the language of the great Swedish mystic.

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HERMANN S. FICKE

FIRST LAY CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND

Dr. J. Rawson Lumby in a note in his edition of More's Utonia (Pitt Press Series, Cambridge University Press, 1922), remarks, p. 182, "More was the first layman who was Lord Chancellor." Professor F. E. Schelling in Elizabethan Playwrights (Harper and Brothers, 1922), p. 26 characterizes Sir Thomas More as "England's first lay chancellor." The facts seem to be otherwise. Lord Campbell in his Lives of the Chancellors catalogs at least two lay chancellors in the fifteenth century. Thus, (I, p. 275) he names Sir Thomas Beaufort, a layman, as chancellor in 1409 for two years, and Ibid, p. 305, Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, Chancellor in This does not include the case of Sir John Fortescue who may have been Chancellor toward the close of the reign of Henry VI. Articles in the Dictionary of National Biography confirm Lord Campbell's findings in the cases of Beaufort and Salisbury. Professor Kenneth H. Vickers in his England in the Later Middle Ages (Methuen & Co., 3rd Edition, 1921), p. 336 describes Sir Thomas Beaufort (anno 1409) as "the first lay chancellor of the reign" (i.e., that of Henry IV). Professor Vickers does not mention Salisbury as chancellor. But at any rate it is clear that Sir Thomas More was not the first Lord Chancellor of England who was a layman.

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ALLEN R. BENHAM

A NOTE ON GARCIA GUTIERREZ AND OSSIAN

In his excellent survey entitled "The Influence of Ossian in Spain" (Philological Quarterly, IV (1925), 121-138) Professor E. Allison Peers thus accounts for Ossian's relatively small popularity in the Peninsula: "A likelier cause [than lack of a knowledge of English] for Ossian's comparatively restricted Spanish vogue may be suggested: namely, the small part which the theme of world-weariness, and even the tone of melancholy, play in eighteenth and nineteenth century Spanish literature, and the consequently small appeal which the mournful songs of Ossian would make to the writers by whom that literature was produced."

There was, however, one Romantic dramatist whose works are pervaded by a tone of melancholy: García Gutiérrez. Piñeyro (El Romanticismo en España, Paris, 1904, pp. 102-3) uses in speaking of him these phrases: "la melancolía natural de su carácter,"

"la tristeza instintiva de su poesía," "el tono general de reconcentrada tristeza y pasión dolorosa." This tone in the poetry of García Gutiérrez cannot be denied. It was natural that to such a poet the *Gaelic Fragments* would not be without appeal.

Critics have failed to mention the influence of the Ossianic poems on García Gutiérrez. This has probably been because the composition in which this influence is manifest is buried in his *Poesias*, which are universally and with considerable justice passed over in silence. At the end of this small volume, published in 1840, is a "dramatic phantasy" in five acts entitled *Fingal*. We are informed that *Fingal* formed part of the literary baggage of García Gutiérrez when he left Cádiz to come to Madrid in 1833; in other words, that it was written by the time he was twenty years old. The "Fantasía" has all the earmarks of a youthful production.

From the title we would be led to expect a dramatic treatment of at least some episode from the Ossianic Fingal, but we find that the plot is the creation of García Gutiérrez's own imagination.2 The following are the dramatis personae: Rino, Fingal, Bosmina, Dutcaron, Sorglan, warriors, bards, and two ghosts. Morna, Esnivan, and Eviralina are mentioned in the course of the play. The place names used are Selma, Mórven, Lochlin, Inistor, Loda, Gormal, Cromla, Inisfel (Inisfela) and Lena. All of these names are used by Macpherson in the two poems Fingal and Temora, which leads one to believe that García Gutiérrez had read and used Montengón's translation.3 One or two examples will suffice to show what free use García Gutiérrez made of his source. In his Fingal, Fingal, the son of Rino, king of Caledonia, is in love with Bosmina, who is later discovered to be the daughter of Rino and Morna. Despite the relationship, Fingal persists in his passion; when Bosmina is about to be married to Dutcaron, Fingal kills Dutcaron, rushes on the stage, and in the presence of Rino and



¹ In the biographical sketch of García Gutiérrez by Cayetano Rosell preceding Juan Lorenzo, in Autores dramaticos contemporaneos y joyas del teatro español, Madrid, 1881, 2 vols., Vol. I, pp. 81-96.

² There exists a certain similarity of theme to the *Abufar* of Ducis, which may be accidental.

³ Fingal y Temora/poemas épicos/de Ossian/antiguo poeta céltico/traducido/ en verso castellano/por Don Pedro Montegnón/Tomo primero/Madrid:/en la oficina de Don Benito García y Compañia/ano de MDCCC/. This translation was made from the second (1713) edition of Melchiorre Cesarotti's Italian translation from the English.

Bosmina, commits suicide. Such an intrigue in the "Gaelic Fragments" would be unthinkable. The changes which García Gutiérrez made in the relationships of the characters are also violent. According to Ossian, Rino is the youngest son of Fingal, and Bosmina his youngest daughter. Everallin (Eviralina) was the beloved of Ossian himself; García Gutiérrez makes her the beloved That is, the beloved of Rino before he met Morna in This Morna in the Spanish poet's composition is neither one of the Mornas of Ossian. According to García Gutiérrez, she was the daughter of Esnivan (Snivan, in Ossian, a bard of Lochlin) King of Lochlin, whom Rino had loved in Lochlin and brought back to Selma. This Morna is evidently a reminiscence of the Ossianic Agandecca, daughter of King Starno of Lochlin; her father charmingly describes her as "the loveliest maid that ever heaved a breast of snow." She was loved by Fingal, and, enamored of him in turn, she warned him of her father's intended treachery, and was slain by Starno for preferring her lover to her country.

García Gutiérrez did not, then, write a play with a plot based on Ossian. It is significant to note further that he imitated the style to a very limited extent. Only occasionally do we find phrases with an Ossianic ring like these (Acto segundo, p. 192 of the *Poesias*):

Fuerte es su brazo en la tremenda lucha Fiero y terrible como el negro rayo.

There are far more that reflect the practise of eighteenth century Spanish neo-classicism; for example (p. 187):

No os marchitéis, oh flores venturosas! Ornad la tumba del objeto amado Con dulce placidez.

What, then, remains of Ossian in García Gutiérrez's Fingal? The names, the setting, and, most important of all, the melancholy spirit. One is hardly justified in claiming that Ossian gave the Spaniard the tone which characterizes this and many of his later works; it would be more accurate to say that García Gutiérrez found in Ossian a spirit akin to his own, and that the reading of Fingal y Temora perhaps strengthened him in his tendency to give literary expression to his own innate sadness.

University of North Carolina

N. B. ADAMS

BOOK REVIEWS

A Greek-English Lexicon, compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, a new edition revised and augmented throughout by Henry Stuart Jones, with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie. Part 2, ἀποβάλλω—διαλέγω-Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926, Pp. 193-400.

The general character of this new revision has been evaluated in P. Q. VI (1927), 94 f. Part 2 continues the same high excellence as was found in part 1. I append a few suggestions gathered from the marginalia of my own copy of the seventh edition:

ἀποκαφτερέω, add Plut., Artaxerxes XXII.

ἀποπτερνίζω as meaning "to seize by the heel and throw"; cf. Jour. Hellenic Stud. XXVI (1906), 19 f.

ἀποτρόπαιος, add Luc., Pisc. XXXIII.

ἀποαγόπολις means rather ''land or community of Do-Nothings''; cf. Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. XLV (1914), 29, n.

ἀφνέομαι, for alleged construction with participle in Eur., Alc. 1158, contrast Earle's edition ad loc.

ἀσύνετος in Eur. Hel. 352 better translated by Pearson as "Why these dark words?"

αὐγάζω, add Eur. Rhes. 793.

ἄφενος, mas. accus. in three passages of Hesiod defended by Fehrle in *Phil.* Woch. XLVI (1926), 700 f.

ἄφλαστον, used as semaphor or signal post of a ship; cf. Am. Jour. Arch. XIX (1915), 477.

ἄφοαστος, add Eur., Hipp. 820.

βάπτω (dye), add Batrachom. 220 and Luc., Vera Hist. I, 84.

βασιλείδης, add Soph., Antig. 941.

βοτόν, add Eur., Hipp. 75.

βραβεύς in Eur., Hel. 703 translated as "spectator" by Pearson.

βρίθω, add Plut., Lys. XII.

γνωρίζω, add Eur., Ion 1567.

δάπις, add Arist., Eccles. 840.

δέ γε, cf. Shorey, "Δέ γε in Retort," in Class. Phil. XIV (1919), 165-74. This is one of the periodicals which failed of recognition in the list published in part 2, pp. XXXVIII f.

δεινότης as applied to an orator is translated "power" by C. D. Adams in Demosthenes and his Influence (1927), 91.

It is to be hoped that future parts will appear with a maximum of promptness.

R. C. F.



The Poems, English, Latin, and Greek, of Richard Crashaw, edited by L. C. Martin. Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1927. xcii + 473.

Professor Martin's new edition of Crashaw is a worthy addition to the Oxford series of seventeenth century poets which includes his own Vaughan and Professor Grierson's Donne. Like its fellows, this is a sumptuous example of book-making and press-work; and, like the Donne, it immediately becomes the definitive and authoritative edition. Unlike Grierson's work, Martin's contains little by way of aesthetic appreciation or interpretation, little literary criticism. Indeed, we are prefatorily told that Crashaw's "place among the more considerable poets of his time is now so well established as hardly to call for repeated definition here;" and furthermore that Crashaw's extravagant conceits no longer require apology, since students have attained the historical point of view, and can now—to quote Crashaw's first critic of eminence—"read each work of wit With the same spirit that its author writ."

Martin's studies have been primarily biographical and bibliographical. His is the first edition of the *Poems* to include "the only piece of English prose from Crashaw's hand known to exist," a letter from "R. C." written from Holland in 1643, apparently to one of the Ferrars of Little Gidding. Of this find, which is concerned not with poetry or mysticism but with business, the editor may be said somewhat to have exaggerated the importance. Rather more significant seems the discovery of the letter of recommendation which Queen Henrietta Maria wrote the Pope, in the course of which it is said that Crashaw had "esté Ministre en Angleterre": upon the poet's Anglican ordination students had hitherto been able only to speculate. This confirms the supposition that the poet, while Fellow of Peterhouse, was also Vicar of the adjoining Little St. Mary's Church.

Since Crashaw, though not a prolific composer, was an indefatigable reviser, Martin does not, like preceding editors, attempt an eclectic text. Instead he gives us, for poems which underwent material alteration, the versions both of 1646 (editio princeps) and 1652. This is a great advantage to the study of such poems as the famous—to many, infamous—The Weeper, which suffered augmentation from twenty-three to thirty-one stanzas.

Martin excludes two poems previously in the canon, and adds six MS poems certainly worthy of Crashaw, whatever one may think of the evidence adduced for their authenticity.

The notes supply parallel passages and analogues, seldom attempting definitely to assign sources: much remains to be done by way of source study. Crashaw was, like Professor Lowes' Coleridge, a learned and literary poet; and much allusion to and adaptation of his reading in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, and English is quite what we should be prepared to find.

Boston University

AUSTIN WARREN

Santal Folk Tales, edited by P. O. Bodding, Vol. I, pp. xvi + 369, Oslo, 1925, Vol. II, pp. 403, 1927. Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Series B II and VII. American representative: Harvard University Press.

These volumes present, for the first time, to the scholarly world a large body of Santal folk tales in the original language with a parallel English translation. They are the results of a life-long study of the Santal traditions made by Mr. Bodding during his career as missionary to the Santali. The great significance of the present volumes is briefly and convincingly set forth, in an introduction to Volume I, by Professor Sten Konow of the University of Oslo.

The collection, which falls into four main divisions: stories about Jackals, Stories about Women, Humorous Tales, and Stories of Ogres, is briefly annotated but not analyzed either from a linguistic or folkloristic angle. What can be done on the basis the material presented is suggested by Professor The Santali are the most important representative of the Kolarian peoples, who, with the Dravidians, formed the bulk of the Pre-Aryan population. Their traditions have much in common with Hindu tales known to us from the Panchatanra and other collections. Their language, too, is largely Aryan. But, both in story and in speech, there is a strong substratum of Pre-Aryan elements. A full analysis of such a collection as Mr. Bodding's should reveal an excellent picture of the gradual Aryanization of the early nations of India, and should, incidentally, throw light on any similar superimposition of one culture and one language upon a less dominant race. And, though the Aryan influence be the dominant, the results of the study will possibly reveal that the give and take has been great and that much of what has been considered the product of Aryan India must in reality be ascribed to the earlier Kolarian or Dravidian culture.

University of Iowa

HENNING LARSEN

Festskrift til Hjalmar Falk. Aschehoug & Co., Oslo, 1927.

The great range of the thirty articles of the memorial volume presented by friends and colleagues to Professor Falk is indicative of the wide scope of his own work and interests. Almost every phase of Germanic philology—linguistics, mythology, folklore, literary and cultural history—is represented. It is impossible to comment on each contribution; they are of varied interest and of unequal importance. Many of them, however, students of Germanics can ill afford to ignore.

For literary history, special interest is attached to Professor Paasche's attempt to assign the authorship of the Speculum Regale to Archbishop Einar Significant also is Johan Schreiner's analysis of the conflicting accounts of the battle of Svolder and the death of Olaf Trygvason. Helgason demonstrates that Arngrimur Jónsson, at the end of the sixteenth century, made use of a now lost MS. of the Heidreks Saga, and that this MS. was of the U type, possibly even the original of U. His findings prove that the U version is not merely a seventeenth century revamping of the saga. Textual criticism is represented, for scaldic poetry, by Finnur Jónsson's study of the strophes of Holmgongu-Bersi Véleifsson, and, for Eddic poetry, by Magnus Olsen's interpretation of Hávamál 33. For folklore, Reidar Christensen outlines a plan for an up-to-date edition of Norwegian charms and con-Liestol's interpretation of Den store Böigen will interest also students of Ibsen. The linguistic studies range from Primitive Germanic to contemporary phonetics. Hjalmar Lindroth opens again the problem of the phonetic value of Prim. Gmc. tenues. Marstrander argues that Gothic filudeisei is derived by dissimilation from *filuleisei. Sommerfelt offers an explanation for the vexed problem of the absence of i-umlaut in short radical syllable in

Old Norse. Significant for its keen observations and analysis is Elias Wessén's study of the development of the inflectional system of feminine nouns in North Germanic. The volume closes with a valuable bibliography of Professor Falk's printed works compiled by Dr. Selmer.

University of Iowa

HENNING LARSEN

Lyric Pioneers of Modern Germany. Studies in German Social Poetry, by Solomon Liptzin. viii + 187 pp. New York: Columbia University Press, 1928.

Up to the appearance of Solomon Liptzin's new treatise, the specialist's library lacked a work which adequately described the social movement in German lyrics between 1830 and 1850. As the new book supplies this need, its contents should have been clearly summarized in the title. To be sure, the sub-title shows that Mr. Liptzin himself did not mean seriously to maintain that present Germany is modern only in its social convictions. Still, on page 13 the author calls the purely social lyric "the most original contribution of this decade" and openly assumes that it alone lives on in modern Germany. Yet republican Germany very clearly finds most of its political ideas for the first time expressed in the lyric of the storm-birds of 1848 and hence does not feel their political poems to "be out of date" (p. 12). Furthermore, does the fact that a certain poetry (of doubtful artistic value, p. 4) is still read in modern Germany, really mean that it alone is "aesthetically valuable" and that we must "relegate the rest to the realm of history" (p. 13)? Here the author seems to have confused historic importance and aesthetic value.

Inasmuch as this volume is the final outcome of years of laborious research, it naturally incorporates many of Dr. Liptzin's earlier findings, although it is far from being merely a handy restatement. The second chapter, for instance, brings out with a clearness unattained before that Chamisso was the literary exponent of the middle class. In the third chapter, the somewhat hasty description of the attitude of the Storm and Stress poets toward the lower classes seems to be of unequal merit. On the other hand, the author's interpretations of Heine's social tenets in the sixth and ninth chapters deserves praise. In the seventh chapter, the detailed story of the Silesian riots which Dr. Liptzin gave already in his "Weavers," seems to be entirely out of place; and I doubt whether he is justified in recalling the versions of Willkomm and Prutz together in one breath with the one by Hauptmann which appeared almost forty years later (p. 122).

The following minor mistakes could have easily been corrected: p. 5 (Klinger's "Reisen vor der Sündflut" appeared already in 1795); p. 75 (the third line of the second stanza of the translation is falsely quoted); p. 170 (1. 3: Uberflusse should have been capitalized); p. 176 (1. 6 shows wrong arrangement); p. 182 (why are the last two stanzas of "Die Wanderratten" omitted?).

New York University

ERNST ROSE

An Anthology of Medieval Latin, by Stephen Gaselee. xii + 140 pp. Macmillan and Company, London, 1925.

The author of this elegantly printed book evidently had no intention of introducing the reader to mediaeval institutions. He presents rather a col-

lection of interesting curios for the entertainment of the scholar. It is truly an anthology, but it is much more inclusive than the term "medieval" would indicate. The first texts are taken from inscriptions of the first century and from Petronius to illustrate the vulgar Latin, which is "of value as being in the direct ancestry of the forms of speech of the Middle Ages." However, in the selections which follow there is no apparent effort to carry out the idea that mediaeval Latin rests on a vulgar Latin foundation; for most of the selections illustrate the better literary traditions; and the selections carry the reader far beyond the mediaeval period, the last being a letter of the Abbott of Einsiedeln written in 1916, which is included in the collection to show that Latin is in reality "a universal language—a more scholarly rival of Volapuk, Esperanto, and Ido."

Each selection is preceded by an introduction which is well suited to give the reader the right background and mood to appreciate the subject-matter. Occasional brief notes at the bottom of the page help to the understanding of obscure passages. There is an Appendix of Metrical Forms and an Index. University of Iowa

FRANKLIN H. POTTER

Mediaeval Latin, by Karl Pomeroy Harrington. xxix + 698 pp. Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1925.

This is a book of selections designed to introduce the reader to mediaeval Latin. It contains an excellent, though brief, introduction in which the most obvious variations from classical standards are tabulated for the benefit of the beginner in this field. It is the belief of the author that certain portions of the text are suitable for the use of students even as early as in the second year of Latin study. This might possibly work out well with mature college students who want a short cut to the literature of mediaeval institutions. The book contains no special vocabulary for the use of students who are not familiar with mediaeval diction, but definitions needed for the understanding of the text are placed at the bottom of the page along with occasional explanatory notes.

In the body of the book historical introductions are given for each of the writers cited, and with few exceptions the selections are extensive enough to give the reader adequate samples of the writings of each author represented. However, the space given to each of the writers is not an index of the relative importance which the author bears to mediaeval literature or institutions. For example, the reader of this book will know Alcuin by one short poem only, and Hrabanus Maurus is represented by eighteen "rude hexameters." This illustrates the impossibility of making any selection from so wide a field which would be satisfactory to everyone.

Perhaps the increased interest in mediaeval studies will result in a more exact definition of the term "mediaeval" itself. The selections in the present book cover the period from the *Peregrinatio* (late fourth century) to Milton and represent over a hundred different writers. They are well chosen to present the life and thought of the different periods in many varying aspects of history, religion, government, schools, private life, and literary art. The book carries the mind of the reader through thirteen centuries. The writings of that mediaeval period in which Latin was the vernacular and the only available literary language have an intrinsic interest far different from that of the



more or less artificial scholastic Latin writings produced after the modern vernaculars had well-developed literatures. Harrington has included both fields, but the scholar who is interested in the Middle Ages will begrudge the space given to Milton and several other writers of the period of the Renaissance at the expense perhaps of Asser who has not been represented at all.

The value of the book is greatly enhanced by numerous well-chosen illustrations. In a book of this size, containing such a great variety of material, the absence of an index is a serious fault.

University of Iowa

FRANKLIN H. POTTER

A Primer of Medieval Latin, by Charles H. Beeson. 389 pp. Scott, Foresman and Company, Chicago, 1925.

Professor Beeson prepared this book at the request of several mediaevalists who felt the need of a Latin reader introductory to mediaeval literature. Part I contains about three hundred pages of prose, followed by Part II consisting of about seventy pages of poetry. Within each of the major divisions of the book the chronological arrangement is approximately followed, except that the first forty-two selections, making about eighty pages of prose, are arranged regardless of chronology with a view to furnishing very easy selections for the use of beginners in this field; so that a student who has completed a full high-school course in Latin should find it possible to read the greater part of the book without much difficulty. The period covered by the selections is that of the sixth to the thirteenth centuries. Within this period all the most important writers have been included, and the subject-matter is uniformly interesting and worth while, although inevitably the samples are sometimes disappointingly meager. Law, theology, and diplomata have been excluded as they offer too many difficulties to be included in a book of this scope. The Introduction deals summarily with the peculiarities of mediaeval Latin, including versification. At the end of the book is the very brief Vocabulary of words whose meanings cannot be found in the standard Latin dictionaries. Footnotes furnish brief historical introductions to the writers and give such expository helps as are needed by the readers for whom this book was planned. The student who wishes to get even an elementary understanding of mediaeval literature will constantly feel the need of more information than these historical introductions furnish.

The book is well edited and practically free from errors. On page 38, line 32 read *petebant*. The note on *perpete* on page 224 should have been given on page 43, where the word first occurs. An index would have added much to the usefulness of the book.

University of Iowa

FRANKLIN H. POTTER

Philippe de Commynes: Mémoires; édités par Joseph Calmette, professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Toulouse, avec la collaboration du Chanoine G. Durville, conservateur-adjoint du Musée Dobrée [Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age] Tome Ier (1464-1474).

Philippe de Commynes was a nobleman in the service of Louis XI. His intimate acquaintance with European diplomacy of his day, his taste for psychological analysis, together with his excellent literary style, have given his memoirs a well deserved popularity. The present volume comprises Books

I-III, the whole to be complete in three volumes. The best previous edition is that by Mandrot, in 1901-1903, in the Collection de textes pour l'étude et l'enseignement de l'histoire, based on the Polignac MS. The present edition is based on the Dobrée MS, which M. Calmette considers more faithful to the lost original. The introduction includes a brief biographical and critical note, an account of the extant MSS and earlier editions, and a classified bibliography of sixty-five titles. Historical notes and variants are reduced to the minimum to avoid cumbersome detail and reduplication of previous editions. On the contrary, an advantage over earlier editions is the fact that terms unfamiliar to one not versed in fifteenth century French are explained in the footnotes. The work is fully up to the standard set by the general editor of this series, M. Halphen, in his edition of Einhard's Vie de Charlemagne, previously reviewed in these columns.

University of Iowa

WALTHER I. BRANDT

Milton's Semitic Studies and some manifestations of them in his poetry, by Harris Francis Fletcher, Assistant Professor of English in the University of Illinois. University of Chicago Press, 1926.

This study is so interesting that one has to regret that Professor Fletcher has touched only the surface of the subject. He gives a detailed account of how Milton studied the Semitic languages, but it would have been much more important to know what use the poet made of his knowledge of these languages.

Milton translated nine of the Psalms from the Hebrew into English verse. Only one of these Psalms is examined. The author's contention that Milton's deviations from the original are due to the influence of other English metrical translations may be valid, but something more than a comparison of one psalm with the original Hebrew should have been offered to support this contention.

It is evident that the author had more material before him than he cared to embody in his study of Milton's use of Semitic material in *Paradise Lost*. He clearly establishes his point that Milton's Muse is the Hebrew "Shekinah," and he gives a carefully documented account of the rabbinical embellishments of the Story of the Fall. But this is only a small part of what should have been done. Milton's Semitic studies contributed much more to *Paradise Lost*, and it would be interesting to have a detailed examination of the subject. One must wonder why there is no consideration of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* in this study.

Only praise can be given to the careful treatment of Milton's Semitic training and equipment, but one has to regret that the forty-one pages devoted to the poet's use of Semitic material furnish only an introduction to a great field which demands thorough investigation.

University of Dubuque

HERMANN S. FICKE

Arthur of Britain, by E. K. Chambers. Sidgwick and Jackson, London, 1927. In a conveniently small volume (three-hundred pages include appendices, bibliography, and index as well as the seven chapters of discussion) Sir Edmund Chambers has turned his attention to the field of Arthurian scholarship. Perhaps his work does not fully carry out the cover promise of surveying "the whole subject of the Arthurian story in medieval Europe and particularly in England," but within the limits of his chapter headings it would be hard to

suggest more satisfactory treatment. He does not attempt to clear away the entire tangle of underbrush and make a definite path to the understanding of the complex relationship between the main tale of Arthur and the many romances of knightly adventure which were associated with it to form the matter of Britain. He does, however, give the most probable explanation according to the present state of knowledge. With certain reservations he accepts the conclusions of the late J. D. Bruce, whose bibliography and general treatment he recommends as the most complete in the field.

The chapter on Arthur and Mythology might well be read and reread at periodic intervals by anyone working in this beguiling field. It is sympathetic to possible influences and yet so sane and well-balanced that one finishes it with a restored sense of proportion. His discussion of the Round Table is also a demonstration of common-sense finding a way among enticing mirages. Evidently, however, his study was completed before the appearance of the article by Mrs. Laura Hibbard Loomis entitled Arthur's Round Table, which presents convincing evidence that the immediate source of the literary conception of the Round Table as a symbol of Christian fellowship was the traditional depicting of the Eucharistic scene in ecclesiastical art.

But the chief claim of this book to a definitive presentation of values is in the field of historic legend. Here Sir Edmund has done something which tempts one to use the term indispensable. His task was, of course, much simplified by the earlier study of R. H. Fletcher on The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles, but this study forms only a section of the field he examines. He has ranged through the lives of the saints and Latin compilations of a general nature, then from all these materials he makes clear the grounds for "the acceptance of Arthur" and the claims for his historicity. The usefulness of the work is also greatly increased by the inclusion of "the records;" that is, the passages referring to Arthur in the various works discussed. collection of Latin documents, together with the critical discussion of the whole field by the author of The Medieval Stage, furnishes a volume most convenient for reference and a very present help in the various troubles one is likely to meet when wandering in the paths of Arthurian investigation. University of Iowa NELLIE SLAYTON AURNER

One Word More on Browning, by Frances Theresa Russell. xi + 157 pp. Stanford University Press, Stanford University, California, 1927.

It is not often these days that one finds a writer of pure criticism, a writer who devotes himself to aesthetic considerations and literary values. Biography, philosophy, historical and social backgrounds have come to assume a larger place in writings even about poetry. Mrs. Russell's book is an exception to the rule, being a book of criticism; its substance is that, and there is good critical stuff in the book. The bibliographical material at the end seems to me valuable also; particularly because the essays convinced me that Mrs. Russell's judgment is sound.

Mrs. Russell's attitude is sympathetic, but not sentimental, rather balanced and sane; much that she says is not new, but most of it has an original slant. Especially in the chapter, The Poet in Love and the Man in Love, I thought her approach original and interesting in its discussion of Browning's portrayal of unhappy love as not inconsistent with his own happiness in love. There

is originality too in the next chapter, His Flair for Feelings, where Mrs. Russell assigns Browning to the customary borderland between poetry and psychology, but takes up in a stimulating way his treatment of emotions "chosen from the middle register," such as disgust, envy, fear, joy, pity, and shame, and shows that Browning's genius lies, in some measure, in his sense for shades of emotion. The chapter entitled His Saving Grace of Pessimism is a godsend. We have grown weary of strident optimism about God in his heaven, so that it is pleasant to have pointed out to us with emphasis the ever-recurring note of pessimism, the "wistful minor of the Toccata," as Mrs. Russell puts it. So it is with other chapters in this intelligent and satisfactory book. As to style, one might object to so many "quotations in solution" and, because the style is usually so literary, to occasional lapses into colloquial phrase.

Main Currents of Modern French Drama, by Hugh A. Smith. XV + 307 pp. + bibliography. Holt, 1925.

A book on such a subject as this must and does contain two main elements: facts as represented by biography, names and dates of plays, outlines of plots, the purpose and influence of writers; and opinions as represented by estimates of the relative importance of dramatists, their philosophy of life, their strength and shortcomings. So far as the first factor is concerned one does not expect to find anything to criticise in the work of a man who has given years to his subject. On the second point any reviewer should hesitate to venture, even if he disagreed, to set his personal opinions or judgments against another's. What remains, then, is to place before a certain group of readers some information about this newest book on a most interesting subject.

The first chapter serves as a background by reviewing briefly the course of French drama before 1830. Then follow chapters on the romantic drama, later verse drama, Scribe, the mid-century social drama, other realists, the théâtre libre, Brieux, Curel, Hervieu, other recent writers, and symbolism and the static drama of Maeterlinck. Each chapter presents the facts concerning the dramatist's life and work, brief descriptions of important plays, their sources or influence and an evaluation of the writer and his pieces.

The author has protected himself from the critic who does not find mention of this or that writer or play by stating that the book is made up on a frankly and arbitrarily selective basis with no pretense at being a complete catalogue of names and titles. As one of the "many students in my course on the modern French drama" to whom the book is dedicated the reviewer is glad that Professor Smith has put into permanent form the results of his lectures and studies in an always interesting field of French literature.

University of Iowa

CHARLES E. YOUNG

The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher. By E. H. C. Oliphant. xvii + 553 pp. New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1927.

Professor Oliphant's encyclopedic work on the Beaumont and Fletcher corpus is a welcome gift to all students of Elizabethan drama. To a smaller number, indeed, interested in research in the fascinating field of later Elizabethan drama, it will be not merely welcome, but indispensable. For this elaborate revision of the author's epoch-making work, his articles in *Englische Studien* 1890-91, is much more than a mere re-statement of his views on the authorship

of the plays in the Beaumont and Fletcher folios. It collects and summarizes all that has been done on this topic, stating not merely the views, but also the reasons of other scholars, collecting all the external evidence available, analysing the style of a dozen or more playwrights who may or may not have contributed to the corpus, and extending his investigations to a considerable number of plays Stukely, The Birth of Merlin, The Widow, and Julius Caesar, etc. which are not, as a rule associated with either of the names of the great "twin brethren."

One may hesitate to accept Oliphant's results in bulk. Your reviewer inclines to differ with him on various matters of detail, but the severest critic must acknowledge that he has given us all the matter necessary to form a judgment and has never suppressed or neglected evidence that seems to tell against his own opinion. The frank honesty of his work is everywhere apparent, notably in his readiness to change his previously expressed opinions. Equally noteworthy and laudable is his independence. Fully aware of earlier judgments, his work is essentially his own; in fact he indulges in rather sharp criticism of scholars who incline to rest unthinkingly in traditional opinion.

His method of analysis may be briefly stated. In the first place he collects whatever external testimony is available, holding rightly that first hand external evidence must outweigh all subjective judgments as to style, technique, and so forth. He warns against the danger of attempting to minimize external evidence when opposed to the individual impression of the critic—an error not infrequent in the work of such a radical as J. M. Robertson. The internal evidence, on the other hand, on which he lays most weight is not so much the dramatic or the moral, as the purely literary, the vocabulary of word and phrase, the construction of sentences, the "facture of the verse," i.e. its metrical characteristics, and last, but not least, "the indefinite music that permeates it all." Here one might think the purely individualistic would introduce a factor of error, but to a student whose ear, like that of the author is trained by long familiarity with Elizabethan dramatic verse, this test is perhaps the first and surest. Take, for example, his judgment on the muchdisputed question of Shakespeare's part authorship of The Two Noble Kinsmen. He quotes a couple of passages from the first and last acts and remarks that they seem to him "not merely the work of Shakespeare, but of Shakespeare at his best. . . . The much suggested Massinger could not have come within measurable distance of the play's attainment" in "the run of the verse, the compressed and elliptical methods of utterance, the sovereign way in which words are bent to his purpose, the boldness of the imagery, the grandeur of the thought." Here is a frank and decisive literary judgmentone in which, by the way, all students of Massinger will concur.

On the other hand it seems unlikely that many students of Shakespeare will agree with Oliphant's analysis of Julius Caesar. He accepts Fleay's hypothesis of two original plays of which the present is a clumsy amalgamation. The original author he holds to be Marlowe, the adapter Shakespeare, aided, or revised in two scenes by Beaumont. Against this opinion it may be stated with some confidence that the external evidence cited by Oliphant as establishing the existence of a Caesar play by Marlowe proves nothing more than that the name and certain incidents connected with the life and death of the

mightiest Julius were familiar to the scholarly playwrights of the pre-Shake-spearian era, a fact which needs no proof. As to Marlowe's hand in the existing text Oliphant himself admits that the style of Julius Caesar is not "markedly his;" and the very small portion which he allots to Beaumont is in itself, I think, an argument against that author's presence. If Beaumont had ever been called in to revise a play by Shakespeare—a thing in itself hardly credible—he would hardly have confined himself to touching up the two scenes in which Oliphant detects his presence. And the lovely passage cited from the fourth act which he declares to be "pure Beaumont" may, I think, better be conceived as the type of Shakespearian verse, marked by a distinctly lyrical strain on which Beaumont was later to model his own lyric and elegiac passages.

In a work of such length crowded with such a multitude of details it is not surprising that there should be a certain number of errors and omissions. Among the latter may be noted the failure to mention Lockert's edition of The Fatal Dowry, which contains a study of Field's characteristics well worthy the author's notice. Walter Graham's reprint of the first edition of The Double Falsehood (Western Reserve University Bulletin, May 1920) also deserves mention. The prologue to The Mad Lover distinctly mentions "the writers," not the single author as Oliphant (p. 142) asserts. It is inaccurate to say (p. 101) that Dr. Thomas suggested Fletcher's authorship of Revenge for Honour. Thomas concludes his study of this drama by saying: "It may be taken as proved that Glapthorne had a hand in the final shaping of the play." The suggestion that Fletcher or a pupil of his may have been the original author rests on the identification of this play with The Paricide, licensed by Herbert in 1624, a date which seems to exclude the possibility of Glapthorne as the first author. Oliphant does not notice the possibility of this identification.

But these are trivial matters. The value of the work, and no one can rate the value higher than your reviewer, lies in its breadth, its method, its independence, and, in the main, the actual results obtained.

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T. M. PARROTT

Thomas Hardy from Serial to Novel, by Mary Ellen Chase. The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, Minn., 1927.

Students of Hardy have known for some time that there are marked differences between the magazine version and the book version of several of his novels. Professor Beach's study of "Bowdlerized Versions of Hardy" in the Publications of the Modern Language Association for December, 1921, where The Return of the Native was considered in detail, made that clear. The present work of Professor Chase is an attempt to expand Professor Beach's initial work along this line by making a careful study of three of the novels—The Mayor of Casterbridge, Tess of the D'Urbercilles, and Jude the Obscure—and showing what alterations they underwent from periodical publication to book form. The general conclusions Miss Chase comes to are summarized in these two paragraphs:

"First, the minor alterations—those in characterization, in setting, in the improvement of literary atmosphere and of diction and sentence structure—

were made simply because of the author's desire to improve the literary quality of his novel before that novel should be published in book form.

"Second, the various alterations (those of incident and fact), which were evidently made either to add sensationalism and suspense to his story or to eliminate the extremely unorthodox, the unconventional, and the improper, were necessitated by the demands of the magazine editor who had bought Hardy's wares, but who must regard the investment in the light of his reading public."

Because of the last noted concessions or compromises Miss Chase would have her reader believe that Hardy prostituted his genius, stultified his ideals, as an artist.

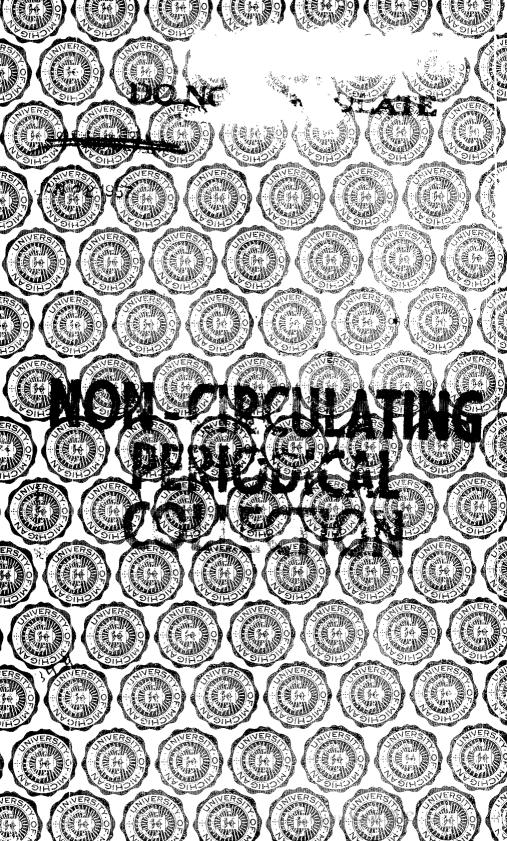
On the surface, Miss Chase makes out a strong case, but one wonders whether the time has yet arrived for a study of this sort. Miss Chase admits that we do not yet have access to Hardy's extensive correspondence and that certain material circumstances of his life will not be known for some time to come. These things, when they are available, may throw valuable light on the matter, and the present reviewer believes they will. The essay on "Candour in English Fiction", published in the New Review, January, 1890, makes clear that Hardy had very positive convictions about the right and wrong of giving in to magazine editors who have no other thought than that of the family circle, and the inference is a fair test that he did not allow these editors to emasculate his stories as they did without protest, and vigorous protest. At any rate, the matter is one that cannot be decided until all the data are in, and that time has not yet come.

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SAM B. SLOAN

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